HOW CAN SOCIAL MEDIA USE AMONG DIASPORA EXPERTS CREATE SUSTAINABLE RELATIONSHIPS FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT?

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Chapter I.

Introduction

Since the 1950s, discussions on diaspora engagement have swung back and forwards between pessimists and optimists. However, the European Commission (EC) has portrayed diaspora as 'agents of change' on several occasions, thus engaging with the optimists of the migration and development discourse (Turner and Kleist, 2013). The Netherlands' participation in migration and development is also in favor of diaspora engagement and can be traced back to the 1970s (De Haas, 2006). In 2008, an explicit concern for diaspora initiatives was formulated in a Dutch policy memorandum on migration and development and may complement the work of development organizations (Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Justice, 2008: 54). Several definitions exist for the term diaspora due to contributions from scholars and policy objectives. This will be further examined in Chapter. 2. However for the purpose of migration and development projects, policy documents view migrants that have strong ties with their country of origin and that are committed to achieving development goals as perfect actors for sustainable development and can be characterized as diaspora members. One journalist perfectly illustrated this view in a remark when Mama Hawa, a Somali-Canadian development worker, received the Nansen Peace Price: 'Not a western development worker who does good things in Africa this time, but one of them, an African woman who helps her own people so that they can help themselves tomorrow' (Horst & Sinatti, 2015: 141). Both migration and development organizations such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM) engage in projects which aim to engage diaspora members who have achieved a certain level of expertise in a specific field with their place of origin by transferring their skills and knowledge to members in their place of origin in order to achieve development goals. The organizations strive to facilitate the transfer of knowledge and skills of migrants thus compensating the 'brain drain' with a 'brain gain' effect and contributing to sustainable development.

Alem Desta from Ethiopia, for example, tells her story to illustrate the aim and positive outcomes of this type of project:

"When times are tough in the village of Hawzien, women who are young and poor leave for the city. Their lack of employable skills means they are treated very badly, sometimes ending up as servants but more often forced into prostitution. My original idea was to build a general training center for the young girls and women of the village to prevent this happening. But then I found out about the honey..." (IOM, 2010).

This woman worked with the Hawzien Women's Association in Hawzien, and helped to market and sell high-quality honey that the women of Hawzien have been farming for generations. By exposing them to a bigger market, these women's livelihoods were improved. This is just one example of a positive outcome of the IOM's Temporary Return of Qualified Nationals (TRQN) project – IOM Netherlands' current project: Connecting Diaspora for Development's (CD4D) predecessor and for which the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs is a donor.

CD4D is demand driven and therefore identifies what is needed in the selected countries. For example, for Afghanistan they mostly need professionals that can contribute to the healthcare and infrastructure of the country. For Ethiopia, their priority sectors are agriculture/food security, education and healthcare; and for Somalia, its agriculture/food security, education and infrastructure. Ghana and Morocco also figure in the IOM's CD4D project, however, they will be phased out by September 2017. As mentioned above, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the donor for this project thereby having specific requirements with regards to the participants. They must hold a Dutch residence permit and be dedicated to achieving development goals in their country of origin. The role of IOM in this project is to act as a facilitator and mediator in connecting diaspora experts holding a Dutch residence permit and key institutions in their country of origin. They facilitate the connections by mapping diaspora that meet the demand of key institutions, financing the travel arrangements and providing participants with a small allowance. The allowance is not a monetary incentive but a sufficient amount to provide for food and travel costs, however the participants must seek out their own accommodation. Because of this, it can be said that the participants return on a voluntary basis solely motivated by their need to 'give back' to their country of origin. As criticisms were voiced by some CD4D participants of the allowance being insufficient, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been adamant on this particular issue. Therefore, a CD4D participant must be dedicated to achieving

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development goals despite the lack of a monetary incentive. Due to the nature of the CD4D participants motivations, the project will thus be used as a starting point to recruit interviewees since the assumption is that CD4D participants are diaspora members that have acquired a sufficient amount of knowledge to be able to transfer their skills and knowledge and counteract the brain drain effect in their country of origin, thus contributing to the development of their country and qualifying as diaspora experts. Consequently, the IOM will be used as an example of an international organization that has contributed to the migration and development nexus.

Societal Relevance

According to the most updated version of the guidelines, CD4D is limited in its use of social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter, but even more so, when it comes to LinkedIn since individual projects such as CD4D are not allowed to create an account. With the birth of Web 2.0 came along the phenomenon of 'user generated content' (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010: 61). This refers to blogs, vlogs and discussion groups for example. A project like CD4D which targets highskilled professionals in order to engage with and contribute to the development of their country of origin could benefit from using LinkedIn and other social media platforms. Not only do they have the power to generate content and engage with the public, they can also be used as powerful outreach tools, improve the mapping of high-skilled diaspora professionals and create important professional linkages. This paper is going to study social media use by diaspora experts from four different countries holding a Dutch residence permit. All four countries: Afghanistan, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia and Somalia are involved in IOM Netherlands' CD4D project. The CD4D project will, however, not consist in the research object but the findings will be used to formulate concrete policy recommendations in the last chapter. Some of the following questions will thus be answered with regards to diaspora social media use. Do different patterns of online behaviour exist among the different ethnic communities? And, what platforms do they most use? It is important to note here that a digital divide may exist amongst them, meaning that not all people have equal access to social media resources and that the research must take this into consideration.

The launch of the first social network sites can be traced back to 1997 (Boyd and Ellison, 2007: 210). There are now hundreds in existence, all offering different functions and interests. With this social media evolution, communication and human connection structures have changed or so the

literature argues. The aim of the research is to examine this idea closer and understand what social media, and therefore how/if new structures of human communication can help improve migration and development projects such as CD4D. In the context of migration and development this translates into the following research question: **How can social media use among diaspora experts create sustainable relationships for sustainable development?** The term sustainable here refers to ongoing. In this light, the societal relevance of this research is to illustrate that actors of change such as diaspora experts are also actors independent of international organizations like IOM. Therefore future assignments and development goals can be achieved with minimal interference from international organizations.

Before starting the analysis however, the Theoretical Framework will define the meaning of diaspora and transnational community, what it means in the context of the migration and development nexus and finally introduce the theory of polymedia, which will be used to study the use of social media among the diaspora experts. The paper then turns to the next chapter: Methodology, which operationalizes the term diaspora, presents the conceptual model and specifies the focus group and case study, as well as, explain the methods used. The following chapter: Findings and Analysis presents the four countries in four sub-chapters –Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone and Somalia – their migration characteristics, their strengths and their weaknesses and the various results found from the data collected will be discussed along with another chapter entirely dedicated to IOM and its use of social media. The findings from the analysis will then be used to formulate concrete policy recommendations for the CD4D project with regards to their social media use and answer the research question: **How can social media use among diaspora experts create sustainable relationships for sustainable development?**

Chapter II.

Theoretical Framework

This chapter will firstly examine the meaning of the term diaspora, it then turns its attention to the meaning of transnational community and how both terms were developed (Part A). Transnationalism relies heavily on communicative technology which brings us to Part B on the internet and social media.

Part A.

What constitutes a diaspora?

The term diaspora is not a new concept, however over the last twenty years its definition has been broadened (Weinar, 2010: 75), thus changed and given new meaning (Faist, 2010: 12). In older versions of the term diaspora, the sense that a population had experienced trauma was central to its definition, as well as the people being dispersed over several host countries (Weinar, 2010: 74-75). New usages of the term refer to any form of dispersal and therefore the distinctions between different kinds of cross-border mobility have been blurred. Giving an exact definition of diaspora is difficult and distinguishing diaspora from a transnational community can be ambiguous. As mentioned above, new definitions of diaspora sometimes refer to transnational mobility and are difficult to differentiate.

The following section examines the meaning of transnational community in juxtaposition with the meaning of diaspora. In conclusion, although a subtle difference exists between the meaning of diaspora and transnational community in the academic realm, the different meanings become blurred in the policy realm.

What is a transnational community?

Transnationalism can be defined as the following: "...the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement. Immigrants who build such social fields are designated "transmigrants." Transmigrants develop and maintain multiple relations- familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political that span borders" (Basch, Glick Schiller & Szanton-Blanc 1994). Similarly, to the diaspora debate, narrow

and broad definitions exist of transnationalism. According to a narrow definition, transnationalism can be seen as: "...occupations and activities that require regular and sustained social contact over time and across borders for their implementation" (Portes et al. 1999), this mainly refers to transnational entrepreneurs and political activists that engage in home politics. On the other hand, broad definitions of transnationalism refer to a "broad category [...of...] practices and institutions linking migrants, people, organizations in their homelands or elsewhere in a diaspora" (Vertovec 2009: 13). A transnational community can thus be defined as "a community [...] based on specific mobility know-how, 'migration expertise'; the inhabitants of these places, so strongly marked by migration, have made it their essential activity" (Bruneau, 2010: 43).

Transnational Community vs Diaspora

The concept of transnational community didn't emerge until the 1990s, and tended to refer (in the perspective of former Western colonial powers) as rural unskilled migrants originating from ex-colonies that would periodically return to their place of origin and send remittances (Bruneau, 2010: 43). On the other hand, the term diaspora is far from new. Another difference is that diaspora is politicized whereas transnationalism isn't, even though, transnationalism can carry political connotations, as previously mentioned. Additionally, diaspora is a term that is popular among nationalists and the concept of nation-building (Faist, 2010: 11). For example, diaspora groups such as Tibetans, Hutus and Tutsis are organized around a national-state problem, this is not the case for transnational communities that do not refute the home or the host-nation. In this sense, transnational communities can be seen as stable and economically driven and diasporas as attached to the notion of a nation-state (Bruneau, 2010: 45). But a key difference between diaspora and a transnational community is that among transnational communities there is no mention in the literature of uprooting or trauma of the people (Bruneau, 2010: 44). The coining of transnationalism was perceived as "an approach that brought migrants 'back in' as important social agents" (Glick Schiller, Basch & Szanton-Blanc 1995). As referred to by Faist, 2010: 11).

Diaspora	Transnational Community		
Old Concept.	Relatively new concept: emerged in 1990s.		
Politized.	Transmigrants may engage in political activities but the term is not politicized.		
Attached to notion of nation-state.	Deterritorialized notion.		
Mention of trauma and	Perceived as stable and economically driven, as well as, important social		
uprooting of the people.	agents.		

Table 1. Key Defini	tion Differences : Diaspo	ora vs Transnational Community
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As Table 1. illustrates, the notion of a nation-state is attached to the term diaspora, whereas, transnational communities are perceived as deterritorialized. According to Michel Bruneau, it is the "relationship to places and territories that enables us to distinguish between diasporism and transnationalism" (2010: 49). Our relationship to places and territories can be seen as a symptom of globalization and the concept of cosmopolitanism in which the nation-state as an analytical tool for scholars is no longer a point of focus. According to Tasan Kok et al. (2013): "The changes brought about by intensified globalisation in recent decades have challenged the assumption that citizen and community identities in cities are territorially based. Cosmopolitan writers now claim that identities are more fluid, relational, and global in nature and that policy interventions that cling to territorially-based, collective understandings of citizenship are doomed to fail" (p33). It is important to understand that the difference in definitions between diaspora and a transnational community are active in the academic realm, but that in the public and policy debate the boundaries between diaspora and transnational community are blurred (Faist, 2010: 11). Academic definitions of both terms are disregarded, and the term diaspora is attached to the definition of transnational community (Weinar, 2010: 73). In sum differences between the meanings of both terms exist in the academic world but merge into one in the public debate. This can be seen as a consequence of the way our relationship to places and territories has changed and can be viewed as a key implication of globalization and cosmopolitanism on academia. Consequently, creating a greater gap between scholars and policy makers as we shall further see,

international organizations have disregarded the academic definition of diaspora and confused it with the academic meaning of transnational community. This next section explores how international organizations have been key players in merging these two different academic meanings of diaspora and transnational community together in the policy realm.

International Organizations

As previously mentioned the term diaspora has changed and been given new meaning over the last twenty years. International and supranational organizations have been key players in this. They "offered themselves as entrepreneurs framing 'diaspora' in several ways that challenge the academic discourse. They have been shaping the image of migrants and ethnic groups as actors of development policy" (Weinar, 2010: 74). Not only this, but they also present themselves as defenders of international norms. Defending the idea that diaspora can be utilised for development goals, thereby challenging and moving out of the abstract academic debate by personifying the term diaspora (Brubacker 2005; De Haas 2006; Weinar 2010). The personified interpretation of diaspora looks at individual members of diaspora as agents for development in their place of origin. They therefore constitute the "basic link between development and migration policy" (Weinar, 2010: 76).

It is difficult to establish which organization first agreed on utilizing diaspora for development, however, it is clear that it has been part of the UN agenda over the last decade. In 2005, the UN established a Global Commission on International Migration, and with this a General Assembly on Migration and Development, a Global Forum on Migration and Development (led by states and civil society), as well as appointing a Special Representative on Migration and Development (Gamlen, 2014: 582). According to Black and Sward such initiatives illustrate a "paradigm shift in the way that migration and development issues have been phrased in international debates" (2009: 2). Since the 2000s, the positive linkages between development and migration have been emphasized in the public debate, so much so, that Kapur (2004) described it as 'a policy mantra' in which endless devotees usher the phrase. The language used in this discourse, however, mirrors definitions of transnational communities (Weinar, 2010: 77). Describing development actors as "a long-term legal resident of the host country, with ethnic and/or national ties to the home country,

who is employed legally and possesses funds or skills to offer for its development" (Weinar, 2010: 78), whilst at the same time using different terms interchangeably in policy documents. In this regard, the UN remained consistent with its definition of diaspora, linking it to transnational communities (Weinar, 2010: 78).

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) has been at the forefront of the widening of the definition of diaspora by defining it as the following:

"Diaspora includes practically anybody with a migrant background who contributes to the development of the home country such a person can be included regardless of his or her legal status and country of birth, does not need to be established in the host country as a permanent resident, does not need to have citizenship of the country of origin, does not need to be involved in any migrant association (although it helps, as collective bodies can be most easily be engaged as partners for policy projects), but should maintain primarily economic, not necessarily political or sentimental, ties with the home country." (Weinar, 2010: 78).

The IOM thereby created a more economically centered definition of diaspora, where members of ethnic communities that have maintained links with their homelands can be seen as diaspora members (Ionescu, 2006: 13). As echoed in a speech made by Lacy Swing – the Director General of the IOM- at the Diaspora Ministerial Conference in 2013:

"If all of the migrants in the world today were to join hands in one country they would be slightly smaller in number than the population of Indonesia or slightly larger than the population of Brazil. The funds they send home, which are private flows, would be about the size of the GDP of Saudi Arabia and slightly more than that of Austria" (IOM, 2013).

Another organization to fully engage with the migration and development nexus is the African Union. It launched a process to define African Diaspora that falls upon four principles: 1) bloodline or heritage, 2) the former must be linked to the process of migration, 3) the definition must be historically inclusive and 4) exclusive of people not committed to development goals (Weinar, 2010: 79). This approach is an emerging feature in African development in which African states reach out to their diaspora (Mohan, 2008: 464), thus creating a diaspora policy as part of their foreign affairs strategy. Diasporic organizations, however, have a different approach and would

like to make the definition more exclusive to those that genuinely have strong links with their country of origin and indicate a threshold of up to the third generation (Weinar, 2010: 79).

In retrospect, international organizations have "blurred the meaning of diaspora and merged it with the characteristics ascribed to transnational communities" (Weinar, 2010: 80). Therefore the academic definitions have been disregarded by the policy sphere. The term diaspora used by international organizations actually corresponds to the academic term transnational community. By utilizing the term to achieve development goals, international organizations have also contributed to creating a more positive connation around the term diaspora which is normally perceived to be unassimilable (Weinar, 2010).

In conclusion, one hypothesis can be formulized to summarize Part A:

Hypothesis 1: Diaspora members which are utilised in migration and development projects are in fact 'transmigrants'.

The analysis will thus try to prove that the diaspora members that are utilized in the policy realm are in fact 'transmigrants' and therefore showing that the policy realm disregards the differences between the academic meanings of diaspora and transnational community (see Table.1). The use of diaspora in the research question, actually refers to IOM's Connecting Diaspora for Development project. This paper seeks to show that the term diaspora in this context is a misnomer.

As previouslys mentioned, central to the debate between diaspora and transnational community is our 'relationship to places and territories' (Bruneau, 2010: 49) which has enabled scholars to distinguish between the two concepts. Therefore the change in rhetoric and the framing of diaspora members as agents of change by attaching the meaning of diaspora to that of a transnational community can be explained by a shift in how places and territories are perceived by scholars and professionals but also the general public. What is in fact observed is a diminishing role of the state as an analytical tool used by scholars. Thus this paper now turns its attention to Part B which looks at how the internet can be used as an analytical tool to study diaspora. It also examines social media use among migrants and how this could apply to social media use among diaspora experts. The literature on the latter is very limited, thus this paper explores unknown territory.

Part B.

Traditionally speaking, the meaning of the word diaspora means the dispersion of an ethnic community, or of a people across the world, but it also refers to the overall dispersed communities of a same community. These communities are made up of social networks in which social media may have a positive impact in facilitating the links between diaspora and development. According to Dekker and Engbersen (2014), social media plays a crucial role in maintaining ties and contacts within geographically dispersed networks of family and friends. It also allows the revival of contact with important weak ties, thereby acquiring and bridging social capital (bringing together two different resource pools, creating an even bigger one). Adding to this, social media has the power to go beyond already established weak ties and to activate new ones, which are available through the structure of the internet as a social medium. Finally the internet - seen as an open information source - can be a source of 'backstage' knowledge for migrants. International organisations such as IOM recognize the growing importance of social media in this ever-changing world, however, it has yet to take advantage of it, especially when it comes to projects like CD4D and social media platforms such as LinkedIn. Strict guidelines exist within the IOM when it comes to the use of social media but they do stipulate that they understand flexibility is important in this area and that the guidelines (IOM 2012; IOM 2016) will be regularly updated thus leading us to believe that there is room for social media to be explored further.

The Internet as an Analytical Tool

As previously discussed, although differences between transnational communities and diaspora exist, the lines between the various definitions are blurred when comparing academic definitions to definitions in the policy realm. According to some (Cohen 1997; Faist 1999), disassociating ideas of transnationalism from diaspora creates more concrete results. Yet, with the emergence of the internet, a new term has been coined when referring to diaspora: 'new diaspora' (Kissau & Hunger, 2010: 244). This term refers to characteristics such as transnational activities with both the host country and the country of origin (Grassmuck; 2000). Thus broadening the term diaspora even

further and merging it with the definition of transnationalism, blurring the boundaries even more. The emergence of the World Wide Web contributed the rise of globalism and thus the change in our relationship to territories and places. It could be argued that the internet is a useful analytical tool for studying diaspora (Kissau & Hunger, 2010).

The internet is crucial in facilitating transnational relationships and setting up social networks, therefore examining online behavior and structures can be useful in uncovering diasporic community characteristics. The use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) has steadily increased among migrants, as well as, their online literacy and accessibility ((N)Onliner Atlas 2008). As much as the internet "constitutes a new realm and new possibilities for communication, representation and imagination" (Kissau & Hunger, 2010: 261), it shouldn't be the sole analytical tool used when studying diaspora, other means exist too (Kissau & Hunger, 2010: 248). For the purpose of this research, a theory devised by Madianou and Miller (2012; 2013) called polymedia shall be used. The main thesis of this theory is that media (which is closely linked to internet usage) should be understood as an integrate environment, and not a as an endless list of separate forms of new technology (Madianou, 2014: 672).

Before delving into the specifics of this theory further, some important notions such as digital divide should be explained.

Social Media and Digital Divides

The first social network site (SNS) was released in 1997, since then these online communities have grown exponentially. Also known under the name of social media, studies have shown that they can facilitate migration due to four factors, also known as the death of distance' (Dekker and Engbersen, 2014). These four actors consist in:

- 1) The possibility to enhance and maintain ties with family and friends.
- 2) To address weak ties that are important for organizing migration processes.
- 3) The establishment of new infrastructures out of latent ties (those that already exist but are not yet activated).
- 4) Social media offers discrete and unofficial sources of insider knowledge on migration.

The conclusion of Dekker and Engbersen (2014) paper is that the latent ties hold more power in the migration process than weak ties in relation to social media. Latent ties are those that already exist between people but have yet to be activated, meaning ties between people that have met beforehand or know of each other (distant relatives for example).

What's more, the birth of 'New Media' has changed the way people interact with the internet. Consumers are not only consumers, they are also able to contribute to media content. Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) such as social network sites have the potential to change social structures but the medium is important, as we shall see further (Madianou, 2014).

Although many benefits can be attributed to ICT and SNS, limitations do exist such as digital divides (Dekker & Engbersen, 2013). The term is used to describe the uneven access and taking-part in modern technologies (Norris, 2001). Past research on digital divides has mainly focused on age, gender, race and socioeconomic status gaps; however, it is important to note that patterns of inequality have changed over time (Ahn, 2011: 149). For example, men used to participate in computer usage more so than women, but women now take-part in SNS more than men (Ahn, 2011: 149). Furthermore, a study in 2007 by Hargittai on the use of SNS among teenagers showed that no significant relationship existed between the child's age, socioeconomic status and ethnicity when using SNS (Ahn, 2011: 150) with regards to a digital divide. On the other hand, the study also found that these findings differ from those of adult online behavior, therefore the youth represent an online sub-culture that is interesting for future research (Ahn, 2011: 160). Thus one can stipulate that the general population are affected by a digital divide in relation to ethnicity, age and socioeconomic status. When it comes to migrants, studies have observed that preferences and access to SNS differ greatly between migrant children and their families (Madianou, 2014: 677). For example, the left-behind children of migrants were more digitally literate but did not have good access. However, the divide in this case was coined 'care divide' in the context of transnational relationships. Mirca Madianou, explains in a study on smartphones that they have overcome most divides but that a gap emerges between those that can expect family ties at a distance and those that don't (2014: 678).

Smartphones and Polymedia

Smartphones can be described as the 'swiss army knife for the 21st century' (Goggin, 2011: 181). They have slimmed digital divides in many aspects, and have created the 'always on' culture (Madianou, 2014: 674):

"Participants use their phones to access a number of platforms several times a day and often during work hours. This was never possible before the advent of smartphones which seem to fully realise the idea of 'connected presence' (Licoppe, 2004) and the ubiquitous Internet" (Madianou, 2014: 674).

Smartphones have thus blurred the lines between online and offline culture, and provide a relatively unconstrained menu of diverse types of communication. Polymedia means to study the social-technological relationship and as previously mentioned believes that media should be understood as an integrate environment, and not a as an endless list of separate forms of new technology. Polymedia has often been compared to another theory called 'media multiplexity' (Haythornthwaite, 2005) which argues that the more connected one is, the more they use media, expanding onto other forms. However, this theory does not look at how individuals choose the media they use and thus navigate the integrate environment of the web (Madianou, 2014: 674). Polymedia on the other hand, does this. The emphasis is on how users exploit the environment to channel and manage their emotions and relationships, thus the choice of medium can often become a message in itself (Madianou & Miller, 2013). Furthermore, polymedia stipulates that three preconditions are necessary for the integrate environment to be created, these are: cost, availability and media literacy. The assumption is that these preconditions determine how one navigates through the environment, thus failure to meet these preconditions undermines further dimensions of the theory. Secondly as mentioned above, how people navigate the environment is closely linked to their needs and desires. Lastly, polymedia believes that the use of social media can have wider consequences that extend beyond interpersonal relationships (Madianou, 2014: 672).

To conclude Part B of this chapter some hypotheses can be formulated:

One can apply Dekker and Engbersen (2014) concept of 'death of distance' to aspects of migration and development projects:

Hypothesis 2: Social Media can enhance and help maintain ties between diaspora experts and host institutions and colleagues.

Hypothesis 3: Social Media can utilize weak ties for the capacity building of host institutions.

Hypothesis 4: Social Media can facilitate new linkages.

Hypothesis 5: Social Media can facilitate the transfer of knowledge.

From the Web 2.0 – user generated content – concept the following hypothesis can be formulated:

Hypothesis 6: Social Media can contribute to the exposure of diaspora experts and the visibility of migration and development projects.

By combining the idea of digital divides, smartphones and polymedia the following hypotheses can be formulated:

Hypothesis 7: Diaspora experts own smartphones.

Hypothesis 8: Diaspora meet all of polymedia's preconditions (cost, accessibility, literacy).

Hypothesis 9: Some digital divides will exist when considering, age, ethnicity and gender but this will not be significant.

Hypothesis 10: The choice in media platforms is a message in itself.

Finally based on the concept of a 'care divide' the following hypothesis can be formulated.

Hypothesis 11: Diaspora members will face different barriers to communication when in their place of origin and when in the Netherlands.

The chapter: Theoretical Framework, has thus observed shifts in the definitions of diaspora and the development of the term 'transmigrant'. The way we analyze people and their relation to places has changed immensely over the last three decades and has evolved in parallel with the growth of the internet. In an article titled: 'Migrants' New Transnational Habitus: Rethinking

Migration Through a Cosmopolitan Lens in the Digital Age', Mihaela Nedelcu argues that researchers must shift their analytical perspective from methodological nationalism to cosmopolitanism (2011). In other words, the focus on states as analytical tools of migration and migrants must be lessened. Beck and Sznaider also argue that methodological nationalism blinds social scientists to the complexity of sociological realities (2006: 2-3). Similarly, this paper argues that we must shift our perspective towards transnationalism. Furthermore, this research paper shall use the theory of polymedia to analyze social media use among diaspora experts, thus using the internet as an analytical tool. It is important to note, however, that there is a lack of research in the use of social media among diaspora experts and migration and development projects. On top the lack of research on social media use among diaspora experts, there is also a lack in research with regards to the use of social media use of social media among international inter- and intra- non-profit organisations. The research will therefore seek to study diaspora members and the transnational activities they perform with regards to international development through their online behaviour. Thus examining how social media usage could contribute towards sustainable development. This paper explores unknown territory and now turns its attention to the Methodology chapter.

Chapter III.

Methodology

This chapter is divided into two sections: Research Design and Methods, and Case-Study. The Research Design and Method section will start by describing the research question, giving operational definitions, defining the focus groups to be studied, giving a review of secondary literature, hypotheses, variables to be studied and research methods. The second section: Case-Study will give an introduction to the case-study and explain the choice behind it.

Α.

Research Design

Research Question

The theory of polymedia emerged from an ethnography of new communication technologies of transnational families, and it has been argued that ethnography is the best way to study polymedia (Madianou, 2015). Due to the specificity of the groups being an ethnographic study may not be of use in this case. Therefore this thesis will be purely based on qualitative research.

Polymedia involves three types of relationship: "those among media within a communicative environment, the relationships between humans and technology, and the relationships among people through and "in" media. In other words, polymedia is about the convergence of the technological and the social and in doing so about unpacking the "social" in social media" (Madianou, 2015: 2). In this light, this paper would like to examine two main relationships:

- 1) The use of social media among the diaspora experts, and between the different groups.
- 2) The use of social media by and with IOM.

Therefore by examining the social-technological relationship, the aim of the research is to determine how social media can contribute to the migration and development nexus. This brings us to the following research question:

How can social media use among diaspora experts create sustainable relationships for sustainable development?

Definitions

In order to research this question, it is important to make note of some definitions.

The term **diaspora expert** refers to a migrant who has achieved a certain level of expertise in a specific field and is able to transfer this expertise.

Social media is hard to define therefore a broad definition of social media use will be used for this paper. Definitions of social media differ depending on one's idea of sociability (Fuchs &Trottier, 2014: 4). For the purpose of the research, the definition of social media will be based on three forms of sociability: cognition, communication and cooperation (Fuchs & Trottier, 2014: 5). Thus different social media is a complex term to define and different types of social media exist: "media and online plat-forms that primarily support cognition (such as the websites of newspapers) are social media (1), those that primarily support communication (such as e-mail) are social media (2), and those that primarily support community building and collaborative work (such as Wikipedia, Facebook) are social media (3)" (Fuchs &Trottier, 2014: 5).

Secondly, **sustainable development** is a popular contemporary term, however, its definition can vary. The most accepted one is: "Humanity has the ability to make development sustainable—to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987). In other words, sustainable development means that it must be transferrable to future generations. Therefore, for the purpose of this research sustainable relationships will be defined following a similar logic. **Sustainable relationships** are thus relationships that will be ongoing in the future.

Focus Group

Using the theory of polymedia, the chosen focus group of this research is diaspora experts involved in development projects such as CD4D. The assumption is that diaspora experts involved in such projects are committed to development goals in their place of origin and meet the three preconditions of polymedia: costs, availability, and media literacy. Diaspora experts are thus expected to have a good level of digital literacy, as well as, the economic and physical means to access social media. Furthermore, IOM will be selected as an **example of an international organization** and with this, its CD4D project. CD4D is a migration and development project in which diaspora experts are recruited and utilized for development. One of the main aims behind this project is not only to facilitate the process in which diaspora members can contribute to their place of origin, but also, to create sustainable connections, linkages and relationships between participants and host institutions so that in the future, international organizations such as IOM can diminish their presence.

Variables

In order to study these focus groups, the following variables will be examined during the analysis. They were retrieved from the theoretical framework:

Table 2. Variables

Variables	Definition	Indicators	Sources
Polymedia Use	Media use is understood	Use of social media platforms:	Interviews with
	as an integrate		diaspora experts;
	environment, the theory	- How many?	Diagrams made
	looks at how people	- For what purposes?	by the
	choose to navigate this	- Frequency of use?	interviewees to
	environment.	- Devices used?	visualize their
		- Active or Passive User?	social media use.
Transnationalism	Having one foot in one	Feelings towards place of origin;	Interviews with
	country and the other in		diaspora experts
	another'.	Transnational activities:	
		-Keeping in contact and visiting family and	
		friends in place of origin	
		- Following news and recent events in place of	
		origin	
		-Work related visits and contacts	

Digital Divide	Facing barriers to digital	Cost;	Interviews with
	communication	Availably;	diaspora experts
		Accessibility;	
		Age;	
		Gender;	
		Culture	
International	An organization with an	Presence of international organization:	Interviews with
Organization	international membership	- In development projects	diaspora experts;
		- In social media use	Interview with
			local IOM staff (in
			the case of
			Somalia);
			Observing IOM
			Netherlands
			social media
			platforms (mainly
			Facebook,
			Twitter and the
			CD4D website)
			using analytics.
Capacity Building	The process in which	Use of and/or knowledge of crowdfunding*;	Interviews with
	organizations obtain new	Transferring knowledge and skills	diaspora experts
	information, skills,		and host
	knowledge and equipment		institutions;
	in order to function		CD4D assignment
	adequately.		reports
Development	Activities which strive to	Level of engagement in such activities	Interviews with
related activities	obtain development goals		diaspora experts
	in place of origin.		and host
			institutions;
			CD4D assignment
			reports

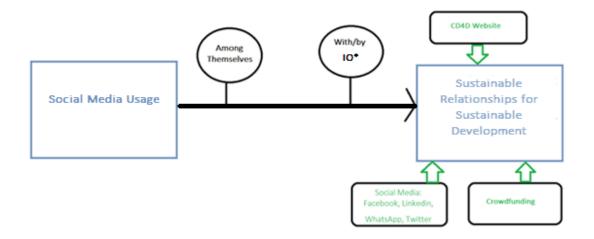
* **Crowdfunding** is defined as a form of participative social funding. It is a way for small businesses (often start-ups) and social initiatives to raise the funds to make their projects come to life. How it works is through small investments from a large amount of people. Not only can you raise funds but it also helps one increase the visibility of a project (Digitaltrends.com, 2017).

By drawing upon these variables, hypotheses may be formulated.

Hypotheses

Hypotheses were formulated at the end of Part A and Part B of the theoretical framework which this section will recapitulate and add to.

In order to fully study social media usage of diaspora experts involved in development projects, we shall examine the usage among themselves, with host institutions and with IOM NL. Three main social media platforms (but not exclusively): LinkedIn, Facebook and Twitter will be looked at, as well as, crowdfunding opportunities for capacity building and the potential of the CD4D website. The research design thus resembles the below conceptual model:



*IO here stands for International Organization

To answer the research question: 'How can social media use among diaspora experts create sustainable relationships for sustainable development?' four sub questions will be devised under which a total of twelve hypotheses will be formulated.

Sub Question 1: What does the term diaspora in migration and development projects refer to?

Hypothesis 1: Diaspora members which are utilised in migration and development projects are in fact 'transmigrants'.

Sub Question 2: How do diaspora expersts navigate the web and do they face digital barriers?

Hypothesis 7: Diaspora experts own smartphones

Hypothesis 8: Diaspora experts meet all of polymedia's preconditions (cost, accessibility, literacy).

Hypothesis 9: Some digital divides will exist when considering, age, ethnicity and gender but this will not be significant.

Hypothesis 10: The choice in media platforms is a message in itself.

Hypothesis 11: Diaspora experts will face different barriers to communication when in their place of origin and when in the Netherlands.

Sub Question 3: How does social media among diaspora experts facilitate transnational activities?

Hypothesis 2: Social Media can enhance and help maintain ties between diaspora experts and host institutions and colleagues.

Hypothesis 5: Social Media can facilitate the transfer of knowledge.

<u>Sub Question 4: How can social media facilitate capacity building and the role international</u> organizations play in migration and development projects?

Hypothesis 3: Social Media can utilize weak ties for the capacity building of host institutions.

Hypothesis 4: Social Media can facilitate new linkages.

Hypothesis 6: Social Media can contribute to the exposure of diaspora experts and the visibility of migration and development projects.

With regards to social media use with and by IOM

Hypothesis 12: The current CD4D social media strategy can be improved in the following areas:

- Communication with Participants
- Exposure/Visibility of project
- Network Growth/Participant Recruitment
- Mapping of Diaspora
- Capacity Building

This last hypothesis will be discussed on its own and result in recommendations for the CD4D project.

From the results of the four sub questions, one will be able to deduct how social media can maintain sustainable relationships for sustainable development since they incorporate all the different variables related to the research question: polymedia, transnationalism, digital divides, international organizations, capacity building and development related activities.

Methods

A multi-disciplinary approach: media theory, development studies, sociology and public administration will be used in order to answer the research question: **How can social media use among diaspora experts create sustainable relationships for sustainable development?** The main collection of data, however, will be gathered through a number of interviews conducted among diaspora experts involved in the CD4D project but not exclusively.

One of the main challenges of the research is that the CD4D project is constantly evolving under the researcher's eyes and thus creates an experimental form of methodology. The research findings will be discussed and translated into future policy recommendations, specifically for the CD4D project.

<u>Interviews</u>

Seven diaspora from different professional sectors were interviewed.

- Afghanistan: Healthcare and, Rural and Urban Development
- Ethiopia: Agriculture and Education
- Sierra Leone: Education and Healthcare
- Somalia: Agriculture

They were selected due their participation in the CD4D project and as mentioned in Chapter 1, CD4D participants both qualify as experts and migrants dedicated to achieving development goals in their country of origin.

The conducted interviews were semi-structured (Appendix A).

The interviews were conducted either in person, or over skype and took no longer than 45 minutes at a time. They were done in English. The age range among the diaspora experts was 30 to 61. The lack of participants under the age of 30 could be due to the fact that gaining the knowledge to be considered a specialist on a certain subject takes times. Furthermore out of the seven diaspora members interviewed, only two were women. It will thus be difficult to draw valid conclusions on whether gender influences the use of social media among diaspora experts.

The aim of these interviews among the diaspora will be used to examine whether the above mentioned variables can be observed and therefore test the hypotheses.

In the case of Somalia it was not possible to obtain an interview with two Somali diaspora members but just one. In compensation, a member of local IOM staff in Somalia was interviewed in a similar manner to the diaspora but with a greater focus on social media use Somalia with and by local organizations, as well as, IOM.

The participants were selected according to whether they have or plan to engage in migration and development activities. IOM Netherlands CD4D project was used as a starting point to recruit

interviewees. Due to the nature of CD4D, its participant meet the definition of a diaspora expert. As mentioned in the introduction however, the CD4D project is not the focus of this research paper.

Literature

In addition to the interviews, primary literature sources will be examined such as IOM The Hague's official social media guidelines, figures on each of the countries internet usage, and reports on the participant's assignments will also be used. Ideally figures on access to social media in the respective countries is needed, but such data was not available.

Secondary literature sources consist in marketing guides on the uses of social media for the benefit of businesses by LinkedIn and Facebook for example, and international organizations using blogs.

It is important to note again that literature on the use of social media by international organizations and among diaspora experts is limited and virtually non-existent.

Social Media Platforms

Three main social media platforms will be examined (but not exclusively) in relation to the diaspora's use of social media and IOM's use of social media: Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn. LinkedIn is what could be called an experimental phase in the CD4D project, therefore the current developments with these platforms will be documented and projected into the future.

Moreover, in March 2017, the project launched their website. The website is used as a platform to inform potential members of CD4D's work, events and more importantly vacancies for new assignments. The website will be followed closely with the use of analytics. Google analytics will also be used to examine the traffic into and out of the IOM the Netherlands Facebook and Twitter page.

Β.

Case-Study

Social Media Use among Diaspora

Florence Hallack-Wolff

Thesis

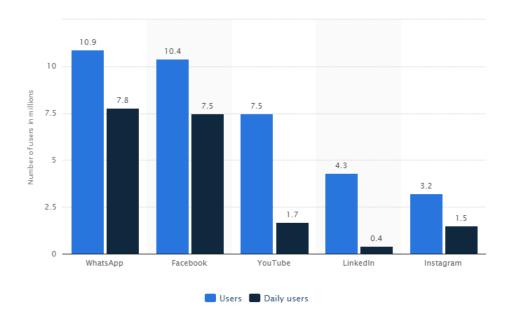
The Connecting Diaspora for Development (CD4D) project participants (but not exclusively) will be used as a case-study for this research. As the name indicates, the project aims to connect diaspora experts with the country of origin to pursue development goals and counteract 'brain drain' by transferring skills and knowledge. Six countries take part in the project, however, this paper only concentrates on four: Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Federal Republic of Somalia and Sierra Leone. Three reasons lie behind this choice. The first was that due to the size and scope of the research, studying six countries would provide a superficial comparison between them. Secondly, only comparing two diaspora communities may not be representative of all the challenges facing diaspora, and would also not provide a valuable comparison. Therefore, in order to make a comprehensive comparison, a minimum of three distinct countries would be required. The third reason is a practical matter. Two of the six countries, Ghana and Morocco will be phased out of the project, therefore any recommendations for the future would no longer apply. This paper thus looks at four distinct cases of diaspora communities with a high presence in the Netherlands and a will to contribute to development goals. As mentioned in the introduction, the assumption is that participants which belong to the respective diaspora communities are dedicated to development goals in their country of origin and regularly take part in transnational activities. Since CD4D is a IOM Netherlands project, they will be used as an example of an international organization. This relates to the literature and the research question because the use of the term diaspora will be explored. The CD4D candidates will be examined leading us to look at whether the policy realm confuses the academic definitions of diaspora and transnational community, and thus showing that international organizations such as IOM have played a role in shaping the term diaspora in the policy realm. When these definitions are looked at closer, the title of IOM Netherlands project: Connecting Diaspora for Development' is a misnomer. Furthermore, as the literature highlighted, with the rise of globalization the usage of the nation-state as an analytical tool has diminished leading us to look at social media usage among diaspora experts as an analytical tool. Drawing upon this, the research paper attempts to draw findings on how social media usage among diaspora experts can contribute to achieving development goals. In this light, development related activities qualify as transnational activities which are facilitated by the rise of the World Wide Web.

This paper now turns its attention to the Chapter IV: Context which will give a brief overview of internet usage in the Netherlands. Lastly Chapter V: Findings and Analysis will be divided into four country reports followed by a discussion on the findings and ending with a chapter on IOM's use of social media.

Chapter IV. Background

In the Netherlands social media usage is very common (see Table 3). Adding to this, the Netherlands has the highest household access to internet in Europe (Cbs.nl, 2017). Therefore adding to the assumption that diaspora experts residing in the Netherlands should have no difficulty accessing internet.

<u>Diagram 1. Number of individuals using the leading social media platforms in the Netherlands in</u> 2017, by social network (in million users)



Source: (Premium Premium statistics, 2017)

This Chapter provides a brief overview of internet access in the Netherlands and illustrates the context in which the selected diaspora live with regards to social media and internet usage. The above diagram shows that the number one social media platform used in the Netherlands is WhatsApp. The internet usage numbers and country backgrounds will be discussed in the four country reports in Chapter V. The paper now turns to this chapter which consists of four country reports, a discussion and finally a chapter on IOM's social media use.

Chapter V.

Findings and Analysis

1. Afghanistan

Background

Three main waves of Afghan migration exist, the first was caused by the Soviet invasion in 1970, the second by the rise of the Taliban regime, and the third by the end of the Taliban regime and the war in 2001.

Recently eclipsed by the 2015 refugee crisis and the war in Syria, Afghanistan has been the biggest source of refugees. In 1990, for example, due to the withdrawal of Soviet troops and a rise in mujahedeen activity, six million Afghans were displaced. The scale of displaced persons represented almost half of the total population with which the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) were concerned (Monsutti, 2006). What is interesting with Afghanistan's migration pattern is a high rate of return between 1990 and 1995, in which a positive net migration

rate of 44.4/1000 persons can be observed. However, during this time the strength of the Taliban grew and thus led to another migration outflux. The rate decreased below parity to 6.5/1000 persons. With the end of the Taliban regime, and the help of the UNCHR's voluntary repatriation scheme in 2002, 5.7 million Afghans returned home (Marchand et al, 2014).

For cultural, religious and geographical reasons, the countries to receive the most Afghan refugees were the Islamic Republic of Iran (2 million) and Pakistan (2.9 million) (Marchand et al, 2014; Majidi, Van der Vorst and Foulkes, 2017) however they are not alone, many migrated to Europe, United States, Canada and the United Arab Emirates. According to traditional definitions, Afghans would qualify as diaspora. Since they experienced trauma and were/are scattered across several countries. Furthermore, the strong return rates illustrate that they maintained strong psychological links to their 'homeland'.

Although, the main cause of immigration can be linked to conflict, Afghanistan now experiences mixed migration flows. That is a combination of factors ranging from conflict induced migration to environmental changes, to economic reasons such as improving living standards and livelihoods, and a well-founded fear of persecution as stated in the 1951 Refugee Convention (Majidi, Van der Vorst and Foulkes, 2017).

The number of Afghans living in the Netherlands has significantly grown from 4 916 in 1996 to 44 339 in 2016 (Statline.cbs.nl, 2017a). The total of second generation Afghans living in the Netherlands was 379 in 1996 and 11 309 in 2016 (Statline.cbs.nl, 2017a). This is a significant proportion of people that could potentially contribute to their place of origin. Adding to this, 2 279 169 people in Afghanistan used the internet out of 33 369 945 in 2016 (Internetlivestats.com, 2017a). That means that 44 339 Afghans living in the Netherlands could potentially connect with 2 279 169 people living in Afghanistan.

Transnationalism

Both of the Afghan participants interviewed have strong ties with the Netherlands and Afghanistan. However they had very different profiles. Participant A was a sixty-one year old man and obtained a PhD and can be considered an expert in water resources and flooding. Participant

B was a 30 year old woman and has lived in the Netherlands for the past twenty years, she speaks fluent Dutch and went to school and university in the Netherlands where she became a medical doctor. She spends on average about one to two months per year in Afghanistan. When in the Netherlands she also follows Afghan news channels and keeps contact with her family.

Participant A arrived in the Netherlands in the year 2000, he speaks Dutch and worked for six years, however his journeys to Afghanistan have increased over the years. When interviewed, the participant was in Afghanistan on a development project. Although his ties with the Netherlands are strong, like participant B he has maintained contact with friends and colleagues in Afghanistan and is interested in politics and social activities that take place in his place of origin.

Although, the participants have very different profiles one having spent more than half her life in the Netherlands, and the other having spent most of his life in Afghanistan, both participants engage in transnational activities in a similar manner. They return regularly, they follow current events in Afghanistan and they maintain contact with family, friends and work colleagues also on a regular basis. Participant A for example contacts his colleagues in Afghanistan once per week and his friends and family even more frequently. Participant B expressed similar results. It can therefore be said that both participants have 'one foot in one country, and the other in another'. Adding to their transnational activities both participants take part in development projects aimed at Afghanistan.

Development Related Activities as a Transnational Activity

During the interview, participant A was in Afghanistan working on a development project with the Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation & Development (MRRD) and facilitated by CD4D. This is the fourth time he engages in a migration and development project, the first time he took part in such a project was in 2004 with TRQN, CD4D's predecessor. This particular project led to a job with which he stayed until 2009, he then went back to the Netherlands and returned again in 2012 (again with TRQN) until 2014. The participant mentioned that he would like to extend his current assignment further. In this sense, the participant can be said to be dedicated to achieving development goals in his place of origin, and able to contribute by transferring his knowledge on water management

(especially flooding) in Afghanistan. Participant B also can be said to be dedicated to 'giving something back' to her place of origin. Whilst she was attending university in the Netherlands, she joined an organization called KEIHAN Foundation as illustrated by their slogan: "Building bridges between the Netherlands and Afghanistan", they seek to create linkages between Afghanistan and the Netherlands. As a medical student she had a lot to offer the foundation and later she joined one of its partners: Medical Committee Afghanistan- Netherlands (MCAN), in which she is very active and seeks to transfer medical knowledge and skills to medical professionals in Afghanistan through their various projects. Participant B also took part in TRQN in 2012 and has since been involved in IOM migration and development projects. Therefore, both participant A and B can be said to be dedicated to contributing to their country of origin and achieving development goals, one in the sector of water management and the other in healthcare.

Although the uprooting of t both participants is implicit there was no mention of trauma during the interviews, secondly both participants think fondly of the Netherlands and a feeling that they belonged to both countries was portrayed. This feeling of having one foot in one country and another in another deterritorializes the notion of a single nation-state. In this light both participants can be considered as 'transmigrants' and that their transnationalism is a crucial precondition for their engagement in their place of origin. Hence the following: 'Hypothesis 1: Diaspora members which are utilised in migration and development projects are in fact 'transmigrants' proves to be true in this case.

In light of the fact that participant A holds a PHD degree and participant B is a medical doctor, both participants can be considered experts in their fields and thus correspond to the given definition of diaspora expert, although a more appropriate term would be 'transmigrant expert'.

Polymedia, Digital Divides and International Organizations

As previously highlighted, the theory of polymedia understands media use as an integrate environment, the theory looks at how people choose to navigate this environment. In order to determine this, the participants were asked a series of questions relating to the following:

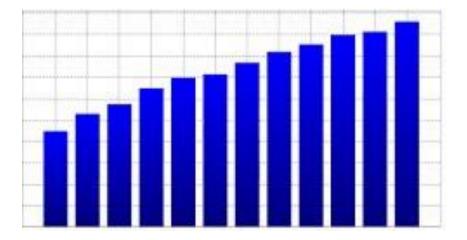
- Whether they were a part of an online community?

- What platforms they use and for what?
- Frequency of use
- Hours spent online/day
- Devices used.

When asked if whether they considered themselves to be part of an online community, they both agreed. Participant A stated that the community was made-up by his colleagues, friends and family. Participant B also acknowledged this, however she mentioned: "I don't take it all seriously", she did however show interest in branching out to other diaspora members, outside of her community. Furthermore according to her, contacting her family, friends and colleagues in Afghanistan has been made a lot easier thanks to social media. Accessibility to social media is relatively easy and she mentioned that in big cities such as Kabul, even the beggars on the streets can be seen holding smartphones. Therefore according to participant B the following hypothesis is false: 'Diaspora migrants will face different barriers when in their place of origin and when in the Netherlands'. Participant A also uses new forms of communication technology, telephone (WhatsApp), email, SMS, messaging apps, skype, social network sites such as LinkedIn and Facebook to communicate with friends, family, colleagues and other professionals therefore 'Hypothesis: 2: Social Media can enhance and help maintain ties between diaspora experts and host institutions and colleagues'. His platforms of choice are LinkedIn, Facebook and Skype. The devices used are his smartphone and computer, he stated that he spends between four and six hours online per day. He therefore fits the preconditions laid out in the polymedia theory: cost, accessibility and knowledge. However, on the contrary to participant B he stated that unfortunately when communicating with friends, family and colleagues in Afghanistan, he faces some barriers such as internet connection, accessibility and costs therefore falsifying 'Hypothesis 11: Diaspora members will face different barriers when in their place of origin and when in the Netherlands'. However, he believes that social media has reduced these barriers, for example he stated that before the year 2000 it was very difficult to communicate with people in other countries, now it is a lot easier, especially for sending important documents. This illustrates that social media can be used to transfer knowledge and 'enhance and help maintain ties between diaspora experts and host institutions and colleagues'.

Furthermore, when asked to visualize his use of social media he produced the following diagram:

Diagram 2. Social Media =f(T)



What he illustrates here is that his use of social media increased over time. He stated that his main use of social media is for communicating with people, searching information, looking for job opportunities and engaging in group discussions. His statements on social media use in combination with this diagram show that he meets the preconditions of the polymedia theory thus **validating hypothesis 8**.

Participant B also uses old and new communicative technologies and a multitude of different social media platforms. She uses Facebook, WhatsApp, LinkedIn, YouTube, Viber and emails. However, she considers herself to be a passive user as she rarely engages in online discussions and uses LinkedIn as a form of online C.V. She used to use MSN Messenger before Facebook became known. When asked how many hours she spends online per day she stated two hours in total. One hour in morning when she wakes up and one hour in the evening before going to bed, and at work she only uses emails and phone calls to communicate. She mostly uses her smartphone and laptop for all these purposes. On her **smartphone** she uses WhatsApp, and stated that everyone, everywhere uses it both in Afghanistan and the Netherlands. She also uses it to maintain contact with her work colleagues in Afghanistan. When WhatsApp isn't working, she uses Viber. All of the above statements have consequently validated the following: 'Hypothesis 5: Social Media can facilitate the transfer of knowledge', 'Hypothesis 7: Diaspora experts own smartphones' and 'Hypothesis 8: Diaspora meet all of polymedia's preconditions (cost, accessibility, literacy)'.

During the interview, this participant also mentioned that social media has reduced the costs of long distance communication since calling can be expensive. What's more, social media help to keep people connected in times of conflict and human tragedies like the recent bombings on June 17th (McBride, 2017). Adding to this she also stated that it facilitates the spread of information, untainted from government influence. With IOM she uses email and phone calls and does not see a need for this to change. With her colleagues, she uses Viber and wants to maintain in contact with them in the future, as well as reach out to other diaspora members therefore validating 'Hypothesis 2: Social Media can enhance and help maintain ties between diaspora experts and host institutions and colleagues' further, as well as, 'Hypothesis 4: Social Media can facilitate the transfer of knowledge'.

When asked whether she would engage in online discussions if IOM was to facilitate them and coordinate them, she seemed interested despite not taking part in online discussions in normal circumstances.

Participant A on the other hand, suggested on his own accord that IOM's CD4D project should create group discussions and physical meetings with other CD4D participants (but not just limited to) in order to share knowledge and experiences. However, he already communicates with other CD4D participants online through websites (like forums, skype...), he would like to use the CD4D website for this in the future. He already takes part in online discussion groups on LinkedIn, Facebook and Skype. These groups are normally within his professional sector. He sees social media as an opportunity for groups to help communicate and not just to communicate with CD4D participants (broader outreach) therefore also validating the hypothesis that **'social media can facilitate new linkages'**.

When communicating with his host institution (before and after an assignment), he used email as the default form of communication, however he mentioned that emails are not efficient and can be time consuming. He would prefer communicating with them with WhatsApp or Viber. During an assignment, no digital communication is made. His preferred form of communication with IOM is email, he deemed it more formal, however, he first heard about CD4D on LinkedIn. He also visits the CD4D website on a regular basis. The participant also stated that during an assignment, he has regular contact with IOM but before and after an assignment, not so much.

He would like to continue having contact with the organization however, and extend his assignment for another period.

Participant B, on the other hand, recently returned from her assignment with the CD4D project. Her task was to train young medical professionals and medical students in a vast array of specialized medical skills, but also in didactic and organizational skills. The training lab was scattered over three separate locations in the medical university, which hampers efficiency of teaching and learning. This is partly due to a lack in funding. With regards to the number of professionals she sought to train, she did not meet her target, however, she plans to return to continue the program. In the meantime, a social media group was created by the participant to further assist coordinators and trainers from the Netherlands. This way, she can continue her relationship with the people she works with, so that the end of the assignment did not mark the end of their collaboration.

In this section both participants have made statements that have validated 'Hypothesis 2: Social Media can enhance and help maintain ties between diaspora experts and host institutions and colleagues', it can be observed in the fact they both acknowledge they were part of an online community that consists in their family, friends and colleagues and that social media facilitated them keeping in contact with their friends, family and colleagues. Despite their different backgrounds, gender, profession and age gap they converge in many ways in the way they use social media therefore 'Hypothesis 9: Some digital divides will exist when considering age, ethnicity and gender but this will not be significant' has proven to be true.

Capacity Building

According to the participants transferring knowledge is one thing, but having the necessary equipment is another. For example, participant B's experience with the scattered lab, as previously mentioned this is partly due to a lack in funding. Participant A voiced similar concerns with regards to the capacity of the institutions in which diaspora are sent to. Therefore, when asked about whether crowdfunding could be a solution both participants agreed. Participant A was very enthusiastic and saw it contributing to the sustainability of the CD4D project. He suggested that it be done online by raising small amounts of money from a large amount of people. Participant B on the other hand stated: "it's great but I don't have much experience with it", therefore she needs to inform herself further. Therefore, both participants have validated **'Hypothesis 3: Social Media can utilize weak ties for the capacity building of host institutions'**.

Hypothesis 12 has been touched upon but will be discussed further in the chapter on IOM and social media use. Below is a table to summarize the findings of this chapter.

Hypothesis	Participant A	Participant B
Diaspora members which are	Validated	Validated
utilised in migration and		
development projects are in		
fact 'transmigrants'		
Social Media can enhance and	Validated	Validated
help maintain ties between		
diaspora experts and host		
institutions and colleagues.		
Social Media can facilitate	Validated	Validated
new linkages.		
Social Media can utilize weak	Validated	Validated
ties for the capacity building		
of host institutions.		
Social Media can facilitate the	Validated	Validated
transfer of knowledge.		
Social Media can contribute to	Validated	Validated
the exposure of diaspora		
experts and the visibility of		

Table 3. Findings Afghanistan

migration and development		
projects.		
Diaspora experts own	Validated	Validated
smartphones.		
Diaspora experts meet all of	Validated	Validated
polymedia's preconditions		
(cost, accessibility, literacy).		
Some digital divides will exist	Validated	Validated
when considering, age,		
ethnicity and gender but this		
will not be significant.		
The choice in media platforms	Non-conclusive	Non-conclusive
is a message in itself.		
Diaspora experts will face	Validated	Falsified
different barriers to		
communication when in their		
place of origin and when in		
the Netherlands.		
The current CD4D social media	To be determined	To be determined
strategy can be improved in		
the following areas:		
- Communication		
with Participants		
- Exposure/Visibility		
of project		
- Network		
Growth/Participant		
Recruitment		

- Mapping of	
Diaspora	
- Capacity Building	

2. Ethiopia

Background

Ethiopia as a country experiences mixed migration flows. The country receives refugees, irregular, trafficked persons and economic migrants, mainly from Sudan, South Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea and Yemen. The majority of Ethiopians leaving the country go to Saudi Arabia and other Gulf States. However, large numbers also make their way to South Africa and Europe (The Danish Refuge Council, 2016). The Ethiopian diaspora is estimated at two million, and considered to be one of the largest from the African continent (The Danish Refuge Council, 2016). The top five OECD countries to host the most Ethiopians are USA, Canada, Israel, Germany and UK (The Danish Refuge Council, 2016). A large proportion of Ethiopian also reside in the Netherlands (Otieno Ong'Ayo, 2010: 78), however. The arrival of Ethiopian asylum-seekers first started in 1976 in reaction to the Derg regime, economic stagnation and droughts. In the 1990s their arrival reached a peak due to conflict in Eritrea (Otieno Ong'Ayo, 2010: 78). The second most important reasons that Ethiopians chose the Netherlands is education, many attend the Agricultural University in Wageningen, and the Institute for Social Studies in Den Haag. A survey in which one-hundred-and-seventeen

Ethiopians living in the Netherlands took part in 2000, showed that seventeen percent described themselves as highly educated, sixty-one percent as average and twenty-two percent as low-educated. The survey also showed that fifty per cent had received a high-school diploma or higher (Otieno Ong'Ayo, 2010: 78).

The total population of Ethiopians living in the Netherlands has doubled during the period 1999 and 2016 to 16 347 persons, with 5 029 second generation Ethiopians (Statline.cbs.nl, 2017b). In light of the theoretical framework, this is a large proportion of people that could potentially contribute to development in Ethiopia by counteracting the brain drain. Furthermore they are also likely to be taking part in transnational activities. Adding to this, 4 228 023 people out of 101 853, 268 in Ethiopia were using the internet in 2016, meaning that 16 347 Ethiopians living in the Netherlands could potentially connect with each other (Internetlivestats.com, 2017b).

Transnationalism

Participant C is an Ethiopian woman that has lived for 30 years in The Netherlands. She works in the private sector, representing different brands - some originating from Ethiopia. She attended a French Lycée, therefore speaks fluent French and has an affinity with the culture. Before moving to Holland, she lived and worked in Paris with her husband, a Frenchman. Due to the pressure of a city like Paris on family life, they decided to migrate to The Netherlands. Both her children grewup in The Netherlands but they now live and work in the UK. The participant speaks Dutch and is fond of the country and its culture. Over the years, the participant has remained connected to her place of origin, she is involved in the community, connected to institutions (especially with her university) and tries to create linkages between them and European institutions. Participant D on the other hand, has not lived in the Netherlands for long. He moved to the Netherlands four years ago through family reunification. He now lives with his wife and three children. His Dutch is not as good as he would like it to be and he struggles to find work because of it. It took him almost three years to find a job and he is now unemployed again, even though, he has a PHD in geophysics. The participant received Dutch citizenship by passing the inburgering toets (integration test) and spoke well of the Netherlands stating that it was a safe environment that there "are no man made problems, and no natural problems" that overall it has "a better situation, better education and better health". His relationship to Ethiopia is equally good, he grew-up there, studied there and

would like to 'give something back'. In the Netherlands he is the vice-chairman of the Vereniging van Ethiopische Renaissance in Nederland (VERN). The association strives to encourage and facilitate the transfer of knowledge through different events and increase the number of visitors to Ethiopia in order to boost the tourist industry.

Participant C can be said to be well integrated into Dutch society, she has lived there for a substantial number of years, speaks the language well, works and she is familiar with the Dutch educational system, having put both her children through it. Despite her affinity with French culture, she stated she loves living the Netherlands and would not want to return to Paris. Due to her work, she returns to Ethiopia on a regular basis. She thus contributes to the Netherlands and Ethiopia and fits the definition of a 'transmigrant', as well as a diaspora expert due to the knowledge and 'savoir-faire' she brings to Ethiopia. Despite participant D's early struggles with job hunting, he perceives the Netherlands in a good light. Furthermore, his feelings towards Ethiopia and his involvement in VERN would however characterize him as a 'transmigrant' since he his orientated towards his place of origin, as well as his place of residence therefore he has one foot in one country and the other in the other. The next section turns its attention towards the participants' development activities which have already been touched upon briefly in this section.

Development Related Activities

Participants C's dedication to Ethiopia's development is noticeable through her work and the extra activities she engages in. As previously mentioned, she represents brands. The main brand that she represents is a coffee company based in Amsterdam but originates from Ethiopia and called Moyee, it is the first FairChain coffee of its kind, which is a step further than Fair Trade coffee since all aspects of coffee production are justly compensated for. This results in Ethiopia and Europe (the receiver of the coffee) engaging in a 50/50 deal, as opposed to a 2% deal for the producing country. Although most of the participant's work takes place in the private sector, she is also involved in an NGO called Stichting Ethiopie Morgen (SEM) which supports gender equality, and Alem Desta's bee initiative in Hawzien (see Introduction). Furthermore, participant C took part in TRQN and is currently awaiting to go on an assignment with CD4D. Participant G, as mentioned above, is involved in VERN which seeks to contribute to Ethiopia's development and he is also

waiting to start an assignment with CD4D. His interest in such projects can be traced before he started his university degree, however.

Both participant C and D can be said to be involved in development related activities oriented at Ethiopia. Hypothesis 1 has thus been validated by the above sections therefore the following statement can be made: 'Diaspora members which are utilised in migration and development projects are in fact 'transmigrants''.

We now turn our attention to the Ethiopian diaspora social media usage and whether it can contribute to achieving development goals by creating sustainable relationships. The next section uses the theory of polymedia for the analysis.

Polymedia, Smartphones and Digital Divides

The theory of polymedia understands media usage as an integrate environment and looks at how people choose to navigate this environment. However, three preconditions need to be met: accessibility, costs and availability. Similarly to the chapter on Afghanistan, this section examines whether Ethiopian diaspora experts meet these preconditions, and how they choose to navigate the internet.

Both participant C and D have obtained a high level of education, participant C holds a Masters and participant D holds a PHD degree. Both live in the Netherlands where social media usage is very common (see Table?) and the countries internet access is¹. It can therefore be assumed that both participants are able to access and afford readily available social media platforms. What's more both participants own a smartphone which contributes to the creation of an integrate environment when it comes to social media usage. It can therefore be stated that both participants fulfil the preconditions mentioned in polymedia theory. We will now examine the way that each participant navigates the net with regards to their choice of social media platforms.

Participant C's most preferred method of communication is face-to-face, when this is not possible she calls and sends emails. She uses LinkedIn to make the first contact with people, and considers herself to be active on the platform. With regards to Facebook she uses it to advertise

¹ <u>https://www.cbs.nl/en-gb/news/2012/24/home-internet-access-rate-highest-in-the-netherlands</u>

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events and advertise new products. For work most platforms are used like Twitter and Pinterest for branding and outreach purposes. However, in general she perceives herself to be a passive social media user – she likes to observe what is going on but she doesn't fully engage with it either, except for sharing valuable information (e.g. an interesting article). Furthermore, she only spends a few hours a day online and doesn't consider herself to be part of an online community. However participant D, stated he was and stated that there was a good internet connection throughout Europe and through this he has connected with a lot of people within the Ethiopian diaspora group, even without having met them beforehand. He then said that 's preferred method of communication is through Viber, through this he maintains contact with family and friends as well as engage in online discussions. He uses Skype and Talk Talk for long distance meetings. He is also very active on Facebook in which he engages in discussions too. He uses LinkedIn as an online C.V. to check and connect with people with interesting backgrounds. The device he most uses is his smartphone and according to him he is always online, he will read the newspaper on it, check his phone when he has a coffee and has all his data stocked on it. The participant also stated that the Ethiopian diaspora group was active on Viber, however meeting face to face is the preferred method of contact since it is the cultural norm to do so, which was also mentioned by participant C.

The above have proven 'Hypothesis 7: Diaspora experts own smartphones' and 'Hypothesis 8: Diaspora meet all of polymedia's preconditions (cost, accessibility, literacy)' to be correct. Adding to this both participants owned smartphones

Adding to this, participant C is already in contact with other diaspora professionals but she stated that she is always looking to create new linkages between people. For example, she is looking for students in The Netherlands to partner-up with students in Ethiopia as well as looking for funding for a solar dryer that would be an environmentally friendly way to speed up the drying process of coffee beans without damaging them. By coordinating with different institutions in Ethiopia and Europe, she is also investigating how to introduce a hybrid tobacco plant called Solaris since it can be used as biofuel and it has nutritional properties. Food security in Ethiopia is an issue so this could be a good initiative for the country. What's more the solar dryer could also be used in this context.

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In this light **'Hypothesis 4: Social Media can facilitate new linkages'** can be observed in the case of participant C and participant D since he stated he 'connected with a lot of people within the Ethiopian diaspora group, even without having met them beforehand'.

Through these interviews, it is evident that both participants have diverse ways of navigating the internet, and have distinct reasons for using the different platforms, and despite the existence of online platforms, physical contact remains an important aspect of Ethiopian culture. It is particularly evident in the case of participant C, although also valid for participant D, that the following statement is correct **'The choice in media platforms is a message in itself'**. On another occasion outside of the interview, participant C mentioned that she is specifically active on LinkedIn since it can be used professionally. According to her, Facebook on the other hand is too broad in its purposes.

The paper is now going to examine these differences closer and look at what kind of digital barriers are present in their social media usage (see below).

Some differences in the way the participants use social media and their enthusiasm with regards to the topic were different. One explanation for the difference in communication choices could be explained by an age gap. Participant C and D have a fourteen-year age difference which could explain why participant C who is 54 uses social media for work purposes the most. Participant D is 40 and may have been normalized to using social media for multiple purposes at a younger age.

Participant C most uses her smartphone to communicate with people and in order to cut costs she uses Viber, WhatsApp and Skype to call abroad. When asked whether she faced barriers with regards to contacting people in Ethiopia from The Netherlands, she explained that using telephone lines is expensive as well as not being very good. She also mentioned that the internet connection in Ethiopia is not very good. The participant believes, however, that if there is a good internet connection social media can reduce barriers. Adding to this, participant D stated that when in the Netherlands and trying to contact people in Ethiopia, calling over Viber can be difficult, so the participant calls them using a prepaid sim card from Lycamobile.

The above is an example of a digital divide described, although this cannot be described as a 'care divide' in the sense that Mirca Madianou meant it (between a migrant mother and her

child) but it illustrates the same issue: one person meets all the preconditions of the polymedia theory and the other not, therefore the statement 'Diaspora members will face different barriers when in their place of origin and when in the Netherlands' has proven to be true. Furthermore the statement 'Some digital divides will exist when considering age, ethnicity and gender but this will not be significant' has proven to be equally valid. Neither participants mentioned that social media could facilitate the transfer of knowledge this could be explained by the in the case of Ethiopia the barriers they face with regards to connecting online with people in Ethiopia are rather strong. The internet connection is not strong, for example calling with Viber can be difficult and not many people own smartphones (according to the participants). Therefore, direct transfer of knowledge through social media usage in the case of Ethiopia may not prove to be true therefore the statement 'Social Media can facilitate the transfer of knowledge' in Ethiopia is not valid. However, it can help to mobilize diaspora members in their host countries in between countries by creating new linkages not just between individuals but also between institutions and therefore contribute to the development of the country. Hence one can conclude that social media can indirectly facilitate the transfer of knowledge between diaspora members and Ethiopia. Considering this 'Hypothesis 2: Social Media can enhance and maintain ties between diaspora experts and host institutions, and colleagues' can also be seen as valid.

The next section now turns its attention towards social media use by IOM from the perspective of the diaspora members.

Capacity Building and International Organizations

When asked about her communication with IOM, participant C replied that she has a professional relationship with them and therefore uses telephone and emails to communicate with them. She doesn't visit the CD4D website often, except to check for vacancies and said that it seems to not be very active.

Lastly, when asked about crowdfunding, the participant was familiar with the concept and interested in future workshops organised by IOM but not if they are too regular since "time is more than money". Crowdfunding would offer opportunities not just for her projects but also for other projects such as INTENT, an initiative to bring sanitary pads to women in Ethiopia.

The interview with participant C ended with her stating that although the Ethiopian community is familiar with IOM as an institution not many have heard of the CD4D project and that a lot could be done with social media for improving outreach and visibility, including the CD4D website

Participant D communicates with IOM in the same manner as participant C, he mainly uses telephone and email, however when asked if he would like to see IOM utilizing social media platforms such as Viber or WhatsApp, he was enthusiastic. He noted that CD4D website could be improved (that is doesn't seem to be very active and that the news is outdated) but that it would be interesting to explore the possibilities that LinkedIn has to offer. He would like to maintain in contact with his host institution once his assignment is completed but he said that depended on the location of the institution and their internet connection.

When asked about crowdfunding the participant's knowledge of crowdfunding is limited but he is familiar with the concept and he would like to explore it further, possibly by taking part in future workshops provided by IOM.

Both participants seem to agree that crowdfunding can be used for capacity building and that the use of social media would improve the outreach and visibility of CD4D. In conclusion, 'Hypothesis 3: Social Media can utilize weak ties for the capacity building of host institutions' and 'Hypothesis 6: Social Media can contribute to the exposure of diaspora experts and the visibility of migration and development projects' are valid.

In this section, 'Hypothesis 12: It is expected that the current CD4D social media strategy can be improved in the following areas:

- Communication with Participants
- Communication with Host Institutions
- Exposure/Visibility of project
- Network Growth/Participant Recruitment
- Mapping of Diaspora
- Capacity Building'

Has also been partly touched upon but will be expanded upon in the chapter on IOM and its use of social media in which the final hypothesis will also be examined.

To summarize this chapter, this following table shows the results of the findings:

Table 4. Findings Ethiopia.

HYPOTHESIS	PARTICIPANT C	PARTICIPANT D
Diaspora members which are	Validated	Validated
utilised in migration and		
development projects are in		
fact 'transmigrants'		
Social Media can enhance and	Validated	Validated
help maintain ties between		
diaspora experts and host		
institutions and colleagues.		
Social Media can utilize weak	Validated	Validated
ties for the capacity building		
of host institutions.		
Social Media can facilitate	Validated	Validated
new linkages.		
Social Media can facilitate the	Falsified	Falsified
transfer of knowledge.		
Social Media can contribute to	Validated	Validated
the exposure of diaspora		
experts and the visibility of		
migration and development		
projects.		

Diaspora experts own	Validated	Validated
smartphones.		
Diaspora experts meet all of	Validated	Validated
polymedia's preconditions		
(cost, accessibility, literacy).		
Some digital divides will exist	Validated	Validated
when considering, age,		
ethnicity and gender but this		
will not be significant.		
The choice in media platforms	Validated	Validated
is a message in itself.		
Diaspora experts will face	Validated	Validated
different barriers to		
communication when in their		
place of origin and when in		
the Netherlands.		
The current CD4D social media	To be determined	To be determined
strategy can be improved in		
the following areas:		
- Communication		
with Participants		
- Exposure/Visibility		
of project		
- Network		
Growth/Participant		
Recruitment		
- Mapping of		
Diaspora		
- Capacity Building		

3. Sierra Leone

Background

Approximately the same size as Ireland, Sierra Leone has a total population of 6 729 023 (Worldpopulationreview.com, 2017). Although current data was difficult to retrieve, Table 5. provides an overview of Sierra Leone's net migration rate between 2000 and 2014.

Table 5. Sierra Leone's Net Migration Rate (2000-2014)

Country	2000	2001	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
			2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9					
<u>Sierra</u>	10.6	10.2	6.3	6.1	0	0	0.2	0.1	0	0	-4.66	-4.25	-3.86	-3.48	-3.12
<u>Leone</u>	1	3	2	9			3	5							

Source: (Indexmundi.com, 2017)

Sierra Leone gained independence from the British in 1961. Following their independence the country experienced ethnic tensions. In 1991 a civil war that devastated the country broke out and with it, waves of Sierra Leonean refugees fleeing conflict. The civil war ended in 1999 which would explain the 10.61 net migration rate at the time. In 2014, the net migration rate is in the negative, -3.12, this means that there is an excess of persons leaving the country (-3.12 migrants/1 000 population). One can assume that the Ebola outbreak contributed to this number and further increased in the coming years and to decrease in 2016 when the country was declared Ebola free. In 2016, the total population of Sierra Leoneans living in the Netherlands was 5776, which is slightly less than in 2014 but substantially higher than in the year 2000 (see Table. 6)

		Total all ages
	Age	
		Total marital status
	Marital status	
		Sierra Leone
	Origin (groups of)	
		Total persons
	Subjects	
		number
Sex	Periods	
Males and females	2000	1 432
	2014	5 977
	2016	5 776

Table 6. Total Sierra Leonean Population in the Netherlands

Source: CBS, 2017a

Again these numbers show the sheer number of potential 'transmigrants' being able to contribute to the development of their country. In 2016, 160 188 people were using the internet out of 6 592 102 in Sierra Leone, meaning that not only can these 'transmigrants' contribute to their country but also stay connected to a significant number of people in Sierra Leone (Internetlivestats.com, 2017c).

Transnationalism

Participant E arrived in The Netherlands from Sierra Leone 12 years ago as a refugee and studied Medicine in Leiden University. He has been a research scientist for the last 8 years, he speaks Dutch and is dedicated to his work taking part in many projects. In his free time, he volunteers in Rotterdam to mentor children in the Sierra Leonean community that experience difficulties at school. The participant's family is scattered all over Europe some living in The Netherlands but also in the UK and Belgium. He often returns to Sierra Leone for his work but he also returns to visit family, for example for his brother's recent wedding.

Participant F also came to The Netherlands as a refugee and has since lived there for sixteen years. His attachment to his host country is an emotional one, he has made a family and would like to remain in the future whilst 'giving something back' to the country that took him in. Adding to this, it can be said that he is well integrated in Dutch society. He speaks fluent Dutch and currently works in Tilburg. His attachment to his place of origin is similarly emotional, it is his place of birth and he was brought up there. He also engages with local news and important events.

Both participants can be said to have strong roots in Sierra Leone but also with the Netherlands. Their feeling of wanting to 'give back' can be seen through their actions and involvement in development related activities to which we now turn our attention to.

Development Related Activities

Participant E works as a healthcare consultant for an organisation called Centre for Collective Learning and Action (CCoLA). The nature of the organisation is development orientated and seeks to incorporate African diaspora members to be included in the decision-making process behind the formulation of policies which will affect them, abroad and in The Netherlands since the participant stated that African diaspora are left-out of the process. They also seek to change the mainstream narrative around migration showing that diaspora members can be 'agents of change' by contributing to the development of their place of origin. The participant stated that it is important to work together to find solutions. It is thus a social cohesion project that tries to narrow the gap between academia and ground work, and utilises diaspora for development and emancipation. Currently the participant is working on a medical waste management programme in Sierra Leone, working with the locals and following-up on their progress. He recently also took part in the CD4D project contributing to the biotechnology sector by formulating concrete and achievable recommendations for the Ernest Bai Koroma University of Science and Technology (EBKUST) in Magburaka and its Bachelor Undergraduate Programme in Biotechnology.

Participant F is also dedicated to achieving development goals in Sierra Leone and like participant E, he assisted an educational institution on a CD4D assignment. He strived to make the Institute

of Advanced Management and Technology (IAMTECH) the leading educational body on ICT, Entrepreneurship and Research in Sierra Leone by inviting important companies in the sector to contribute to the development of labour market orientated curriculum. The participant is currently waiting to return to Sierra Leone on a second assignment to continue his work with IAMTECH. He also took part in CD4D's predecessing project: TRQN and has initiated in projects outside of the IOM framework by building schools and transferring his knowledge. He would like to continue such projects in the future but has shifted his focus from traditional forms of development projects to a more business focused approach.

In sum, both participants arrived to the Netherlands as refugees, this insinuates that they experienced some form of trauma and therefore qualify as diaspora members, however, their relationship to their place of origin and to the Netherlands can be characterized as deterritorialised in the sense that the concept of a one and only nation-state is not present. Furthermore, it is evident that both participant E and F are dedicated to achieving development goals with but also outside IOM and can be qualified as 'transmigrants' or diaspora experts. Consequently, 'Hypothesis 1: Diaspora members which are utilised in migration and development projects are in fact 'transmigrants'' can be said to be verified.

The next section will now examine which social media platforms these participants use and for what purposes.

Polymedia, Smartphones and Digital Divides

Both participants meet the preconditions of the polymedia theory in the sense that they have a certain level of digital literacy, they can access it easily and instantly – they both own smartphones and live in the Netherlands which as demonstrated beforehand is well connected – and they afford the costs. In this light 'Hypothesis 8: Diaspora experts meet all of polymedia's preconditions (costs, accessibility, and literacy)' is valid. Additionally both participants owned smartphones therefor also validating 'Hypothesis 7: Diaspora experts own smartphones'. Therefore social media can be viewed as an integrate environment in this context which will now be examined.

Participant F engages with both old and new forms of communication. His methods change depending on whether he is in Sierra Leone or in The Netherlands. Culturally speaking he stated

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that Sierra Leoneans are not a texting community, they prefer to express themselves vocally over the phone and therefore in Sierra Leone telephoning is his preferred method of communication for its effectiveness and personal touch. On average Sierra Leoneans take a long time to answer a text message. According to the same participant, Facebook was the Netherlands Sierra Leonean Diaspora community's preferred social media platform, however a shift towards LinkedIn seems to be taking place. Himself included, he has turned towards LinkedIn for his own professional positioning and the creation of linkages therefore validating hypothesis 5. For everyday communication with friends, family and colleagues (both in The Netherlands and Sierra Leone), he uses WhatsApp. He rarely uses skype, and he created a WhatsApp group for the Sierra Leone diaspora community in The Netherlands but it is not as popular as he would like it to be, therefore he is already in contact with other diaspora professionals but he stated that he would like to reduce the contact since it is time consuming. In this sense 'Hypothesis 2: Social Media can enhance and maintain ties between diaspora experts, institutions and colleagues' may be too valid. Furthermore, he is pushing other CD4D participants and members of the community in The Netherlands to advertise their activities since he believes that the political context for migration and development projects is changing and it is important to show the world what they are doing to get more support. It is clear from this that he believes 'social media can contribute to the exposure of diaspora experts and the visibility of migration and development projects' and that it is even crucial that social media is used in this manner.

When asked what his most preferred method of communication was, participant E answered that when possible he likes to meet people face to face, otherwise he calls people using Facetime, and texts using WhatsApp. He also uses WhatsApp to communicate with work colleagues and other members of the Sierra Leonean community to 'bounce ideas'. He mainly uses Facebook to advertise projects and events and LinkedIn is used as an online C.V., and he uses Work Net and Google Drive to exchange and review documents with his CCoLA colleagues. In the case of participant E, **'social media facilitates the transfer of knowledge'.** The participant also stated that event though he owns a smartphone, he most uses his laptop for communicating with people and spends roughly 8 hours/day connected (for work and personal use). When asked whether he was a part of an online community, he agreed and said that it was made up of family, friends and work

colleagues. On the weekends, he likes to engage in online discussions that involve brainstorming for ideas for CCoLA.

Participant E and F seem to navigate the integrate environment of social media platforms in a similar way albeit with slight differences. All in all the statement **'he choice in media platforms is a message in itself'** is valid for example they both use WhatsApp to transmit messages and LinkedIn to connect with people on a professional level. However, they both stated that their preferred methods of communication change when they are in Sierra Leone, this can be explained by digital divides and also validates **'Hypothesis 11: Diaspora members will face different barriers when in their place of origin and when in the Netherlands'**.

Participant E noted that in Sierra Leone communication can be difficult at first since one needs to re-integrate and gain the trust of the locals that fear they may have returned to take away their jobs. He also described the internet connection in Sierra Leone as 'epileptic', therefore calling is his most preferred and cheapest method of communication when in Sierra Leone. When it comes to communicating with other CD4D participants, he mainly uses the telephone, emails and from time to time on Facebook but not often. All in all, participant E stated that his preferred method of communication changed depending on the situation in question.

With regards to taking pictures in Sierra Leone for a social media outreach strategy, participant F stated it can sometimes be difficult. You need to know a person before taking a picture of them, and that this person trusts you, as they might think that you want to make money off them. Accessibility to technology in Sierra Leone is not such an issue, most places have a good wifi connection and many people use smartphones. However, political barriers are also present, the Government may censor certain words or restrict access to certain pictures. The participant agrees that social media can have a postivie impact on the country but that the use of social media is not without problems. For example picture use on social media only shows one side of a story or perpetrates personal biases ('What pictures don't tell you'), therefore misleading an audience to draw questionnable conclusions. In this light it can said that the participant is doubtful of whether **'social media can facilitate the transfer of knowledge'**.

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With regards to digital divides existing between participant E and F, they are both from the same gender, same age range – participant E is 33 and participant F is 40 – and same ethnicity. Therefore, no digital barriers exist between them, however, the differences in how they use social media could be explained by their different professional backgrounds. Participant E works for an organisation that strives for knowledge transfers and therefore uses social media much more for these purposes, whilst participant F is an entrepreneur whose profession depends on having good contact with people. Therefore, his statement on wanting to reduce the time the time he spends online is understandable. All in all though, **'Hypothesis 9: Some digital barriers will exist when considering age, ethnicity and gender but this will not be significant'** does not apply in this case.

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When communicating with his host institution participant E stated that cost can sometimes be an issue and this could be facilitated and believes that social media could play a role in this, therefore validating the following sentence: 'Social Media can enhance and help maintain ties between diaspora experts and host institutions and colleagues'. With IOM, he only contacts them when necessary and therefore he doesn't have much contact. The participant didn't see the need for this to change but he did mention that his emails where sometimes bounced back to due to some technical problem which has not been communicated to him.

The participant is in constant contact for his work with other diaspora members, within and with –out his own diaspora community. What's more, he is always looking to make new linkages with people but also with institutions, for example between universities thus **'social media can facilitated new linkages'**.

When asked about the future of social media within the CD4D project, he stated that it is imperative that IOM creates better outreach. He is therefore also in agreement with 'Hypothesis 6: Social Media can contribute to the exposure of diaspora experts and the visibility of migration and development projects'. With regards to his host institution the participant described their online infrastructure as basic. At the end of his assignment he made some recommendations how to reach out, by building a website for example.

The participant was also interested in exploring crowdfunding and found the crowdfunding offered by IOM helpful. Participant F on the other hand when asked about crowdfunding, he stated that he likes the idea but that in practice it is a very difficult thing to achieve. This brings us to the **'Hypothesis 3: Social Media can utilize weak ties for the capacity building of host institutions'**, participant E would agree with this but participant F remains skeptical.

Additionally, he also mentioned that his focal point in Sierra Leone would like to organize regular meetings for CD4D participants in Sierra Leone to share and learn for each other's experiences and progress. When asked if the participant would like to see this on a bigger scale in The Netherlands with other CD4D participants (but not just limited to), he was concerned that time might be an issue and expenditure, in terms of cost of travel etc. He sometimes meets with other CD4D participants at business summits or other vents, but he feels like he his missing the engagement in discussions on development related topics. When asked if a LinkedIn discussion group would be of interest he seemed enthusiastic, even though he is not currently very active on such groups.

Lastly, he stated that his preferred method of communication with his host institution is WhatsApp, phone calls and emails. With IOM it is emails and phone calls. He is in frequent contact with both, and deemed the level of communication to be satisfying. However, he stated that IOM's outreach strategy could be improved in terms of visibility, and that for his host institution communication is based on trust, which he has now gained but at first it was difficult.

Both participants thus do not see a need for IOM's communication with participants to change, however hypothesis 12 will be discussed further in the final chapter on IOM and Social Media.

To summarize this chapter the following table presents the findings for Sierra Leone:

Table 7. Findings Sierra Leone

Hypothesis	Participant E	Participant F
Diaspora members which are	Validated	Validated
utilised in migration and		
development projects are in		
fact 'transmigrants'		
Social Media can enhance and	Validated	Validated
help maintain ties between		
diaspora experts and host		
institutions and colleagues.		
Social Media can utilize weak	Validated	Falsified
ties for the capacity building		
of host institutions.		
Social Media can facilitate	Validated	Validated
new linkages.		
Social Media can facilitate the	Validated	Falsified
transfer of knowledge.		
Social Media can contribute to	Validated	Validated
the exposure of diaspora		
experts and the visibility of		
migration and development		
projects.		
Diaspora experts own	Validated	Validated
smartphones.		

Diaspora experts meet all of	Validated	Validated
polymedia's preconditions		
(cost, accessibility, literacy).		
Some digital divides will exist	Not applicable	Not applicable
when considering, age,		
ethnicity and gender but this		
will not be significant.		
The choice in media platforms	Validated	Validated
is a message in itself.		
Diaspora experts will face	Validated	Validated
different barriers to		
communication when in their		
place of origin and when in		
the Netherlands.		
The current CD4D social media	To be determined	To be determined
strategy can be improved in		
the following areas:		
- Communication		
with Participants		
- Exposure/Visibility		
of project		
- Network		
Growth/Participant		
Recruitment		
- Mapping of		
Diaspora		
- Capacity Building		

4. Somalia

As mentioned in the chapter on Methodology, in the case of Somalia only one diaspora member was interviewed, to compensate in this area however, a member of local IOM staff was interviewed. That data provided will be used for the section on digital divides. Firstly, this paper examines the Somalian diaspora member's level of transnationalism.

Background

The Federal Republic Somalia is made up of three zones: South Central, The Republic of Somaliland (not internationally recognized), and Puntland State of Somalia (a self-declared autonomous state of the Federal Sate of Somalia – it does not seek international recognition). This research when using the term Somalia, refers to all three zones. Like Ethiopia, Somalia experiences a mixed migration pattern but movements out of the country primarily consist in refugees and asylum seekers. Their numbers in the region are close to one million (Danish Refugee Council, 2016a). The Somali diaspora network is spread all over the world and contributes immensely to the economy of the country through remittances. The total amount is estimated between 1.3 and 2 billion dollars (Danish Refugee Council, 2016a). The most popular countries to seek asylum in for Somalis are Germany, Sweden, Austria, Belgium, Finland and France. The success rate of Somalis seeking asylum in 20915 was of 63% (Danish Refugee Council, 2016a). The Netherlands is also a popular country however, and in 2016 had a total population of 39 465 Somalis (CBS, 2017b). Proving once again to be a substantial number of potential development actors. Furthermore, 184 256 people in Somalia out of 11 079 013 used the internet in 2016. Therefore, 39 465 Somalis residing in the Netherlands could potentially connect with them (Internetlivestats.com, 2017d).

Transnationalism

The participant has a good relationship with The Netherlands, he stated that he was provided with good opportunities. He first arrived as a refugee in 2008 and quickly made many friends and was able to do a masters at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. In 2015 he moved to the U.K. to live in Bristol with his wife. He also has strong ties with the U.K. and is starting a family there. His relationship with Somalia is equally good. The formation of the new government has improved

security matters which used to be a barrier to keeping ties. He is in frequent contact with friends and family there. He has been in Mogadishu for the last three months on a CD4D assignment and hoping to receive an extension.

In conclusion the participant qualifies as a 'transmigrant' since he spends part of his time in the UK and the other in Somalia. Therefore 'Hypothesis 1: Diaspora members which are utilised in migration and development projects are in fact 'transmigrants' is verified. As aforementioned, he is currently on a CD4D assignment which brings us to the next section on development related activities.

Development Related Activities

The interview was conducted over skype since he was currently in Mogadishu working on a development and migration program. It is the first time that he is taking part in a migration and development project, although his interest in such projects is not new and can be traced back to his time in university. His assignment is with Somali National University, Faculty of Agriculture and Environmental Science and Faculty of Veterinary Medicine and Animal Husbandry. The participant is a highly qualified hydrologist, therefore his main task at the institution is to provide students with water management training on a variety of subjects such as surface and groundwater resources, basics of hydrology and watershed management. In this light, the participant is able to transfer his skills and knowledge in his area of expertise. The participant can thus be said to be dedicated to achieving development goals in his place of origin by transmitting the knowledge he gained in the Netherlands to Somalia and perfectly illustrating the idea of 'brain drain' to 'brain gain' to 'brain circulation'.

The next section looks at how this individual navigates the internet and how this help enhance migration and development projects.

Polymedia, Smartphones and Digital Divides

When asked to visualize his social media usage, the participant produced the following diagram:

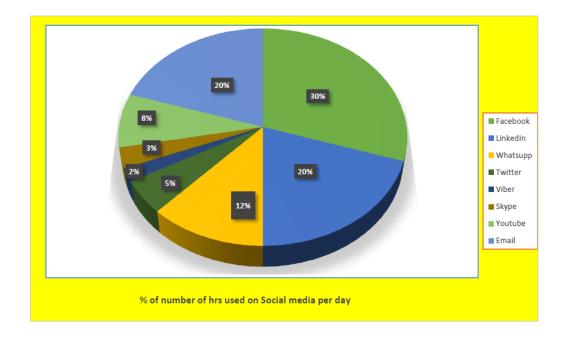


Diagram 3. Numbers of hours used on social media per day.

One can conclude that he is an active social media user, in addition he stated that he was connected 100% of the time therefore also proving 'Hypothesis 8: Diaspora experts meet all of polymedia's preconditions (cost, accessibility and literacy)'. The participant's preferred method of communication differs when he is in Somalia and when he is in Europe. He is in frequent contact with his friends and family via WhatsApp, Facebook and sometimes Viber. Although the participant doesn't tweet, he follows Twitter for news. When it comes to work colleagues, he calls them but sometimes he interacts with them on Facebook. He also uses LinkedIn to engage in discussions in his area of expertise, and branch out professionally. Here it can be said that his choice to use LinkedIn which is a professional online networking platform is a message in itself – he wishes to branch out professionally- therefore validating 'Hypothesis 10: The choice in media platforms is a message in itself'. In Somalia, however, people use LinkedIn as an online C.V. database and can be characterized as passive usage. What's more, when in Somalia the most frequent use of communication is by phone since calling is not expensive, unlike in Europe. The participant mainly uses his PC for emails, but for other online activities he uses his smartphone therefore confirming 'Hypothesis 7: Diaspora experts own smartphones'. The participant is currently in frequent contact

with other diaspora members from the UK and USA present in Mogadishu which he met there. In Europe, he is sometimes contacted by other diaspora members to give information on the CD4D project. In light of this, it can be said that **'social media can facilitate new linkages'**

Similarly, to other diaspora members which were interviewed his method of communication changes when in Europe and when in Somalia which is expected to be due to digital barriers. However, the participant stated that there are not many barriers in Mogadishu with regards to communication. There is a good internet connection everywhere and even people without a smartphone can be reached by phone. He also stated that social media use is very popular among diaspora, but also in Somalia. People follow Twitter for the news, and interact on Facebook. However, he noted that it is important to understand that social media use can me misused to spread false information because of difficulties in restricting internet use. Spreading misinformation on important topics can lead to conflict in some cases.

As mentioned above, different regions exist within Somalia. The Somali participant is currently based in Mogadishu, however the local IOM staff which was interviewed overseas migration and development projects in Somaliland. She stated that internet use in this region (especially with regards to governments is limited and communicating through emails is un-effective since there is a low a response rate, therefor face-to-face communication is the most efficient. However among universities social media use is visible which would explain the above participant's experience with social media. The local IOM staff also stated that there is a significant difference between the private and public sector's use of social media in Somaliand. She also confirmed the participants statements on Facebook being common in Somalia. This difference between the sectors could explain the difference between the diaspora member and a local Somalian. Considering this **'Hypothesis 11: Diaspora members will face different barriers when in their place of origin and when in the Netherlands'** is validated by the participant and falsified by the local IOM staff member. Following on from this hypothesis 4 and 5 are also falsified from the perspective of the local Somalian.

Capacity Building and International Organization

The participant only communicated with his host institution by phone and email before going, but that sufficed with regards to communication. When asked whether the participant would like to

see the IOM create and facilitate discussion groups online, either on the CD4D website or LinkedIn, he answered that he would like to see this happen. He also stated that he normally communicated with IOM via email and that the interview was his first Skype session with them but he didn't see a need for this to change unless for specific issues. He would however, like communication to be improved among other CD4D participants through physical meeting in which experiences and knowledge are shared at IOM but also in Mogadishu and that he would also like to connect with diaspora professionals outside of the CD4D project.

The local IOM staff candidate when asked about IOM's communication methods explained the communication infrastructure between a CD4D participant and IOM Hargeisa. She stated that before a participant's assignment there is no contact between them, they only meet during the official handover of the CD4D participant to an institution. During an assignment a focal point is designated which a participant can directly contact. Once the assignment has ended, whether a participant remains in contact is dependent on the initial relationship. Furthermore she characterized communication with IOM Netherlands as excellent, they often contact via email and have regular skype meetings. She further stated that social media could be very useful for all migration and development projects since it can facilitate the sharing of documents and the exchange of ideas therefore insinuating that the statement **'social media can facilitate the transfer of knowledge'** is valid.

When asked whether he would like to maintain contact with his host institution, the participant answered absolutely and believes social media is the answer therefore validating: 'Hypothesis 3: Social Media can enhance and help maintain ties between diaspora experts and host institutions and colleagues'. He further stated that before the civil war broke out in Somalia, his host institution was one of the best universities in Africa and that he would like to help it re-emerge with the help of social media. He has already contributed towards creating a new logo and gain greater visibility. He further stated that the institution could benefit from social media use to gain greater visibility and reach out to potential students. In this sense, social media will directly impact the visibility of his host institution and therefore indirectly draw attention to his work which was part of a migration and development project, the following statement is therefore

partly valid: 'Social Media can contribute to the exposure of diaspora experts and the visibility of migration and development projects'.

Finally, when asked about crowdfunding, the participant had not previously heard of the concept. He was not aware of the workshop that had been organised by IOM and was interested in finding out more about what crowdfunding was and involves since the teaching method in Somalia is theory based due to a lack of equipment and material, therefore, students must use software in order to gain experience. This is part of one of the challenges he has faced during his assignment, as well as, some security issues due to detonations. A further two more hypotheses have been validated through these insights: 'Social Media can facilitate the transfer of knowledge' and 'Social Media can utilize weak ties for the capacity building of host institutions'.

To summarize the findings of this chapter see table below.

Table 8. Findings Somalia

Hypothesis	Participant G	IOM Local Staff
Diaspora members which are	Validated	Not applicable
utilised in migration and		
development projects are in		
fact 'transmigrants'		
Social Media can enhance and	Validated	Not applicable
help maintain ties between		
diaspora experts and host		
institutions and colleagues.		
Social Media can utilize weak	Validated	Falsified
ties for the capacity building		
of host institutions.		
Social Media can facilitate	Validated	Falsified
new linkages.		

Social Media can facilitate the	Validated	Validated
transfer of knowledge.		
Social Media can contribute to	Validated	Validated
the exposure of diaspora		
experts and the visibility of		
migration and development		
projects.		
Diaspora experts own	Validated	Not applicable
smartphones.		
Diaspora experts meet all of	Validated	Not applicable
polymedia's preconditions		
(cost, accessibility, literacy).		
Some digital divides will exist	Not applicable	Not applicable
when considering, age,		
ethnicity and gender but this		
will not be significant.		
The choice in media platforms	Validated	Not applicable
is a message in itself.		
Diaspora experts will face	Falsified	Validated
different barriers to		
communication when in their		
place of origin and when in		
the Netherlands.		
The current CD4D social media	To be determined	To be determined
strategy can be improved in		
the following areas:		
- Communication		
with Participants		

- Exposure/Visibility
of project
- Network
Growth/Participant
Recruitment
- Mapping of
Diaspora
- Capacity Building

5. Comparative Findings

This section will use the findings from the four country reports to answer the following sub questions:

- 1) What does the term diaspora in migration and development projects refer to?
- 2) How do diaspora experts navigate the web and do they face digital barriers?
- 3) How does social media among diaspora experts facilitate transnational activities?
- 4) How can social media facilitate capacity building and the role international organizations play in migration and development projects?

What does the term diaspora in migration and development projects refer to?

Every participant verified hypothesis 1, therefore all seven diaspora experts can be considered 'transmigrants' as opposed to the traditional sense of the term diaspora which was evident from their relationship to both their host society and place of origin which deterritorialised the concept of a nation-state. In this light, one concludes that the use of the term diaspora in the policy realm and in relation to migration and development projects is a misnomer. In other words, diaspora in the policy realm refers to the academic term: 'transmigrant'. Thus, IOM Netherlands' project 'Connecting Diaspora for Development' uses the term diaspora incorrectly.

How do diaspora experts navigate the web and do they face digital barriers?

To answer the above, the following hypotheses were examine:

Hypothesis 7: Diaspora experts own smartphones. (Validated by all)

Hypothesis 8: Diaspora experts meet all of polymedia's preconditions (cost, accessibility, literacy).

Hypothesis 9: Some digital divides will exist when considering, age, ethnicity and gender but this will not be significant.

Hypothesis 10: The choice in media platforms is a message in itself.

Hypothesis 11: Diaspora experts will face different barriers to communication when in their place of origin and when in the Netherlands.

All participants validated hypothesis 7, meaning that they all have access to the 21st century's 'swiss army knife' and have the possibility of being connected twenty-four hours, every day, at fingers touch. Furthermore, all participants validated hypothesis 8, therefore meeting all three preconditions of the polymedia theory – the smartphone playing a big role in this. Differences were observed with regards to hypothesis 9, however. All participants from Afghanistan and Ethiopia validated the statement: 'Some digital divides will exist when considering, age, ethnicity and gender but this will not be significant'. On the other hand, the statement didn't' apply to participants from Sierra Leone and Somalia. This in itself can be said to validate the hypothesis since it can be assumed that if the digital divides were significant they would have across through the interviews. These divides may not be observed when in the Netherlands by the participants, however hypothesis 11 was validated by all, meaning that digital divides between countries exist, for Ethiopia the main barrier is the internet connection, for Sierra Leone it is the cost of the internet which is high. Therefore although these participants meet all of polymedia's preconditions when in the Netherlands in their place of origin they experience a similar divide to Mirca Madianou's 'care divide'. However these divides are not just due to cost and accessibility, another aspect is of the findings is that both sets of participants mentioned there is a cultural

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factor involved too. According to the participants from Sierra Leone, Sierra Leonean's do not have a texting culture and can take a long time to answer a message. Most people either meet face-to-face or call on the phone. Ethiopia is similar in that respect, people prefer to meet faceto-face. With regards to Afghanistan participant A validated the hypothesis and participant B did not, again this may be due to an age gap. However the interview with participant A took place over skype since he was in Kabul at the time. The skype meeting went smoothly, not technical difficulties were experienced. Therefore these barriers could be explored further to determine what they are. Somalia also falsified the hypothesis stating that the internet connection works perfectly in Somalia. On the other hand, the local IOM staff stated that emailing is a not an efficient tool to communicate with since there is a low response rate. When asked to expand further on this the interviewee mentioned that it could due to education since people are not used to using these technologies. Therefore differences across the four countries in terms of social media preferences and the nature of the digital divides are different. So although hypothesis 9 proved to be correct in some cases and almost non-existent in others or not applicable, the statement 'Some digital barriers will exist when considering age, ethnicity and gender but this will not be significant' is actually significant when projected across all four countries.

Hypothesis 10: The choice in media platforms is a message in itself, was proven non-conclusive in the case of Afghanistan, however, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone and Somalia verified it. Differences between the countries were observed (although not significant ones) and across countries. Afghanistan has a preference for Viber, Ethiopia: LinkedIn, Sierra Leone: WhatsApp and Somalia: Facebook.

In answer to sub question 2, diaspora experts (or rather 'transmigrants') are free to navigate the World Wide Web as they please. They are in a position to be connected whenever with whoever. Adding to this, they choose the social platforms according to their intentions but also according to the ethnic groups' preferences. They are able to navigate the web in this way due to the fact they don't face significant digital divides, however when communicating with their country of origin, they do.

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How does social media among diaspora experts facilitate transnational activities?

For this question, hypothesis 2: 'Social Media can enhance and help maintain ties between diaspora experts and host institutions and colleagues', and hypothesis 5: 'Social Media can facilitate the transfer of knowledge' were examined.

All participants validated hypothesis 2, however, for Ethiopia, neither participant directly validated Hypothesis 2 mainly because neither have gone on a CD4D assignment yet and therefore do not have a host institution. However, they do use social media to maintain contact with their friends and family and in the case of participant C, who is a business woman she uses LinkedIn to make first contact with potential professional relationships. However, it must be noted that in the case of Ethiopia face-to-face contact is the most common form of communication and deemed the most effective. For Sierra Leone, participant F is very active on WhatsApp with regards to hypothesis 2, and participant E preferred form of communication is also WhatsApp (and Facetime) when it comes to social media otherwise he prefers face-to-face communication. But he did state that social media could facilitate communication with host institutions and colleagues in Sierra Leone by reducing costs. In this light, it can be said that social media 'kills the distance' between a participant and their host institution, friends and family in their place of origin. Social media sites have also reduced costs and accentuated accessibility of communication technologies to the masses. Consequently transnationalism, so the idea of having 'one foot in one country, and the other in another', has been facilitated in the sense that person no longer has to physically present in their place of origin in order to communicate with people there. Although this can also be achieved through phone calls, social media is a more financially viable option.

With regards to 'Hypothesis 5: Social Media can facilitate the transfer of knowledge', all participants from Afghanistan agreed. Considering that one of the participant's set- WhatsApp group to enable her to answer any questions that her trainees may have whilst she is the Netherlands, Afghanistan can be seen as active in this department. For Ethiopia however, all participants disagreed which makes sense in light of the digital barriers they spoke of. With regards to Sierra Leone and Somalia, a mixed response was received. Participant E agreed that it does because large documents can be sent across long-distances and although participant F didn't fully

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disagree with it, he was wary that social media can also be used to spread false information and should therefore be used with caution. This was similar to the local Somali IOM staff member, she was not in disagreement on whether social media could facilitate the transfer of knowledge but she was aware that it could transfer false information. Therefore, one can conclude that although the transfer of knowledge and information has been facilitated by social media usage, it should be done with caution.

How can social media facilitate capacity building and the role international organizations play in migration and development projects?

The following three hypotheses will be examined in order to answer this question:

Hypothesis 3: Social Media can utilize weak ties for the capacity building of host institutions.

Hypothesis 4: Social Media can facilitate new linkages.

Hypothesis 6: Social Media can contribute to the exposure of diaspora experts and the visibility of migration and development projects.

'Hypothesis 4: Social Media can facilitate new linkages' was validated by all interviewees across the four countries except the local Somali IOM staff but considering her digital barrier perspective, this makes sense. However, she did state that gap existed between the use of social media by private and public organizations and since she works mainly with public organizations. Public organizations (especially governmental organizations) are hesitant to use social media, whereas in the private sector, especially universities are more proactive with social media. Thus, her pessimistic view with regards to hypothesis 4 makes sense. Her views with regards to hypothesis 4 can also be understood in this light and explains why she falsified the hypothesis.

What was surprising from the findings with regards to hypothesis 3 is that the Somali diaspora expert was the only one to have not be informed about crowdfunding, however, once informed about the concept. He was most enthusiastic and interested. Sierra Leone gave a mix response to the crowdfunding. Participant F stated he liked the idea but in practice it is very difficult and time

consuming. Both the Somali respondent and participant F have illustrated that there is a need for their crowdfunding workshops in which participants are provided with enough knowledge to start their own crowdfunding campaigns. The other respondents all answered positively and showed interest in taking part in IOM's crowdfunding workshops. Therefore, not only illustrating a need but also that there is demand.

In conclusion to the above question, social media can facilitate capacity building by facilitating new linkages between people and institutions, as well as, utilizing weak ties for crowdfunding opportunities (not without IOM's input however). Finally, the statement: 'Social Media can contribute to the exposure of diaspora experts and the visibility of migration and development projects' was validated by all participants across countries and all mentioned that IOM should do more in this area.

This brings us to Chapter VI and Hypothesis 12 which will be examined closely and further expand on the role that international organizations can play in migration and development projects. Firstly, the limitations of the research must be cited, however.

5. Limitations

The findings in this project have been limited by time, size and scope, there is room for more to be explored. Especially with regards to the sample. For example, a bigger sample in which gender could be incorporated should be examined. Since only two female diaspora experts were interviewed, no conclusion can be made on the role of gender in social media use. Adding to this only one Somali diaspora expert was interviewed as opposed to two like for the other diaspora groups researched. Lastly, it would be interesting to interview local Afghans, Ethiopians, Sierra Leoneans and Somalis and to incorporate their perspective on social media usage, as well as, host institutions involved in migration and development projects. This would add value to the research since the interviews have mainly focused on the perspective of CD4D participants. The interviews have measured their perspectives of how they use social media usage. The research could benefit from quantifying their social media usage by monitoring their online behavior more closely, possibly through analytics or gaining access to confidential data from Facebook for example, and other social media sites. However, this touches upon ethical questions on privacy. Leading on from hypothesis 6 being validated by all participants, the next section will now expand further upon this finding and examine the final hypothesis: 'It is expected that the current CD4D social media strategy can be improved in the following areas:

- Communication with Participants
- Exposure/Visibility
- Network Growth/Participant Recruitment
- Mapping of Diaspora
- Capacity Building'.

6. IOM and Social Media Use

International non-profit organizations generate social capital through their mission-orientated work thus encouraging the collective engagement of people that share the same values and beliefs to resolve issues (Waters, 2010: 474). In the case of the International Organization for Migration, they are committed to the belief that migration when managed adequately brings benefits to both the host society and the place of origin (International Organization for Migration, 2017). Whilst they engage with a vast array of projects ranging from the assistance of migrants voluntarily returning, to facilitating family reunification programs to coordinating migration and development projects, they frame migrants and migration in a positive light. In consideration of this the official IOM guidelines on the use of social media states that they recognize "the valuable contribution social media can make to advance its objectives as a global, humanitarian non-profit organization working in the migration field". However, with 480 (International Organization for Migration, 2017a) offices and sub-offices worldwide, it is primordial that they all follow the same guidelines in order to achieve one continuous discourse across the countries. New technologies such as social media are constantly evolving and changing therefore IOM's guidelines must also evolve and be regularly updated. The guidelines thus state that it is a "living document providing initial basic guidance". What is meant by 'basic initial guidance' is that further possibilities may be explored

which leads us to the following section on IOM Netherlands' use of LinkedIn. Before continuing to the next section, however, it is important to note that different types of pages can be created and used. This paper will only go into detail on three: LinkedIn Page, Discussion Groups and a LinkedIn Showcase Page.

LinkedIn Page

IOM's headquarters are based in Geneva, Switzerland. They own the principal IOM account which broadcasts the institutions broader messages and issues of global interest, many local pages and accounts also exist, such as 'IOM The Netherlands' LinkedIn page. These accounts are aimed at local audiences, preferably written in the local language and are country-specific complemented by key institutional messages, as well as promoting local events. Headquarters thus provide basic guidance on such issues and field missions must comply and report to headquarters on the progress, results and impact of such pages. It is unusual, however, for IOM projects like CD4D to have their own LinkedIn page.

According to 'The Sophisticated Marketer's Guide to LinkedIn' (2017), one in three professionals use LinkedIn, these are professionals that are receptive to building professional ties. Considering that the CD4D project seeks to create linkages between diaspora experts and host institutions but also between institutions abroad and institutions in the Netherlands by creating a company page the CD4D project could help activate latent ties (Engbersen and Dekker; 2013). A LinkedIn profile can help a company to:

- 1) Establish its presence by optimizing their profile.
- 2) Attract followers.
- 3) Engage followers (one way would be to create discussion groups, but also links to blogs and vlogs).
- 4) Amplify through the network (creating of content specific adverts for example).
- 5) Analyse and refine (targeted content/monitoring of online behaviour).

(A Sophisticated Marketer's Guide to LinkedIn; 2017)

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In March 2017, negotiations started between IOM Netherlands' CD4D project and IOM headquarters in Geneva to create a LinkedIn page for CD4D to improve visibility and outreach, to create new linkages with institutions and organizations, to engage in conversations, deliver highly targeted content onto members feed, extend reach to those that aren't following the company, and reach anyone on LinkedIn without an introduction or contact information just by attaching a LinkedIn profile. Thus, creating and expanding a sustainable professional network of highly skilled diaspora, key institutions and relevant organizations. These links could then be maintained with IOM playing a monitoring and facilitating role. The negotiations that started in March led to headquarters agreeing to the creation of a CD4D LinkedIn Discussion Group. The negotiations continued however, eventually leading to them agreeing to the creation of a showcase page of IOM Headquarters career LinkedIn page. IOM Headquarters career page and IOM Netherlands CD4D project will launch their showcase page.

Showcase pages otherwise known as product pages are independent pages which function like career pages (a LinkedIn profile for companies) with some limitations however, which will be discussed in section 3.

LinkedIn Discussion Groups

A surprising finding from the interviews conducted among the diaspora is that all of the participant's stated that CD4D can improve its visibility and outreach some describing it as imperative that they do so. Furthermore, two out of eight participants expanded on this more and mentioned that their diaspora communities were not aware of the CD4D project even though they were fully aware of IOM and had worked with them beforehand. Adding to this, every participant uses LinkedIn, however not all can be considered as active users. According to Facebook "active" users are people "who go to its Web site or its mobile site" (Sorkin, 2017), however, this is a very broad definition. In this case what is meant by an active or passive user is whether the user uses the website for its main functions or not. Three out of the eight participants stated that they use LinkedIn as an online C.V. therefore qualifying as passive LinkedIn users. All except one participant was interested in taking part in online discussions through LinkedIn. Despite the fact that she said

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she doesn't take part in discussions generally speaking, she does like to observe what is going on and does share valuable information when appropriate.

LinkedIn Discussion groups can be useful for organisations, in this case for an international nonprofit organisation. They can be used to establish expertise, learn about the people who are interested in your brand or niche - in other words: who is a part of the online community? - and understand questions the community might have, drive traffic, create sub-groups, send weekly messages or create newsletters specifically targeted at the LinkedIn group community, make new connections and last but not least, hold in-depth discussions (Ng & Zimmerman; 2017). The participants that already take part in discussion groups online don't engage with discussions within their diaspora communities but within their professional sector. When asked whether they would like to see CD4D facilitate such discussions, and enable other CD4D participants out of their diaspora community to exchange and share their experiences, challenges and lessons learnt, they all responded positively and also all mentioned that physical meetings organised by IOM should also be implemented. According to Dekker and Engbersen (2013), this will strengthen the online community. Participants that meet in person and then connect online is an example of latent ties being activated. One of the participants that also took part in TRQN in 2012, CD4D's predecessor, stated that TRQN participants met before their assignments took place and maintained contact thereafter, some even becoming good friends. However, CD4D does not do this and she really saw the value in creating such meetings. Another participant also mentioned that organising a meeting in the place in which the assignment takes place with the other participants would also be beneficial.

Although LinkedIn Discussion groups would a be a good initiative from IOM's side, it is still limited in its functions with regards to what a LinkedIn Career page could offer the CD4D project. The negotiations with headquarters thus continued and led to a mutual agreement on the creation of a LinkedIn Showcase page. The page will thus be piloted in July, 2017. The negotiations were put on hold due to the fact that headquarters were arranging the purchase of a LinkedIn career page.

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LinkedIn Showcase Page

LinkedIn Showcase Page is a stand-alone page off a LinkedIn career page, it allows you to do the same as a LinkedIn profile such as announce product launches, website launches, events plus services or opportunities. It allows one to engage with their community and share a particular aspect of business – in this case the business is IOM and the particular aspect of the business corresponds to CD4D (Ng & Zimmerman; 2017). It allows people to follow pages that interest them without having to follow all pages. It's a form of in-depth information sharing with a targeted audience. It allows an organization to answer questions and receive feedback regarding the showcased element, as well as, increase engagement and start conversations. As mentioned beforehand, a showcase page can help announce the launch of new websites and therefore be a source of traffic to the CD4D website. Furthermore, as mentioned in the introduction, social media profiles help to visualize one's network, in this sense the mapping of professionals that are interested in migration and development projects can be pinpointed. The next part turns its attention to the CD4D website.

CD4D Website

The CD4D website was launched in March, it is mainly used to advertise CD4D assignments in Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Ghana, Morocco, Sierra Leone and Somalia and allows potential applicants to apply directly to the vacancies. The website is also a source for the project to gain greater outreach and visibility. It was mentioned by one of the interviewees that although diaspora communities are familiar with IOM as an organisation, their individual projects such as CD4D are unknown. It is therefore crucial for the program to invest more time in its outreach strategies and to fill all the vacancies in the project. The more vacancies are filled, the more development goals will be reached. All participants validated **'Hypothesis 6: Social Media can contribute to the exposure of diaspora experts and the visibility of migration and development projects'** and mentioned that IOM could improve its visibility. The CD4D website also has a section named 'Highlights', this page acts a news forum, showcasing the CD4D participants activities. However,

not many assignments have been completed as of July, therefore there is a content generation issue.

The interviews among the participants have illustrated that many of them take part in diaspora and development related activities other than CD4D, therefore a way to counter the content generation issue could be to feature CD4D participants' own individual projects. The idea behind this is that traffic will be driven to the website. The featuring of similar projects to CD4D will attract the personal networks of the individual's featured and thus lead to greater visibility of the vacancies advertised. What's more, the CD4D website could be linked to the LinkedIn showcase page thus creating greater awareness of the website, and the existing vacancies. According to Waters (2010) non-profit organisations can utilise blogs for their programs or services to gain visibility. They can also be used for the community to voice questions and concerns (Wasserman, 2005).

On top of filling vacancies, a second reason for striving for greater visibility is that the CD4D project relies heavily on funding from its donors and it must demonstrate its accountability. In order for the CD4D project to continue, it must show its donors that it is a worth-while project.

Improving the visibility and outreach of migration and development projects is also an effort to show the projects' accountability to the donors. The website however does not stand alone. Facebook and Twitter are also important outreach tools as shall be discussed in the following sections.

Facebook and Twitter

On Monday, April 3rd new vacancies were uploaded onto the website, consequently they were published on IOM Netherlands Facebook page, between Monday and Wednesday the post had received six likes and according to analytics it had reached 521 people. On April 12th, new vacancies were published on Facebook again, the next day 460 people had been reached. Again on May 4th new vacancies were posted on Facebook, four days later the post had reached 638 people, received three likes and one comment with someone redirecting another person to the post. Therefore, the vacancies reached a significant amount of people in a short amount of time thus

proving to be a significant outreach and visibility tool. Furthermore when the CD4D analytics were examined, the vacancy page where the CD4D assignments are advertised and which were published on Facebook stands out from other pages from the amount of visitors. For the period June 29 to July 5, the vacancy page had received 235 visitors as opposed to 14 on the about page. Furthermore out of those 235 visitors, 118 entered the website through that page.

On July 3rd, an article was published about an Ethiopian networking event in Breda on the CD4D highlight page, it was then posted on Twitter and according to analytics it made 256 impressions but only thirteen people engaged with it fully and only six clicked on the link to the website. The article was also published on Facebook and according to the website's analytics sixty people entered the CD4D website through that article, therefore fifty-four visitors to the CD4D website which entered through that article originated from Facebook. These visitors then when to the vacancy page. In this light, Facebook is more effective for the website's soutreach and visibility. However, hashtag campaigns can be very effective for organizations to

This section has examined IOM's use of social media in relation to the findings from the interviews among diaspora and to 'Hypothesis 12: It is expected that the current CD4D social media strategy can be improved in the following areas:

- Communication with Participants
- Exposure/Visibility
- Network Growth/Participant Recruitment
- Mapping of Diaspora
- Capacity Building'.

IOM practices formal communication, emails and phone calls, with diaspora members except those originating from Sierra Leone – they use WhatsApp. However all participants were interested in seeing IOM engage in less formal forms of communication like creating online discussion groups or facilitated communication through Viber or WhatsApp. They also all converged on the idea that IOM/CD4D should invest more in its social media strategy, especially with regards to the CD4D website which was named by some as 'inactive'.

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The project has only started exploring different methods and it is still an area that can be explored and expanded upon further. Therefore, to answer fully sub question 4: How can social media facilitate capacity building and the role international organizations play in migration and development projects? International organizations, and in this case IOM Netherlands can contribute greater to the exposure and visibility of its 'Connecting Diaspora for Development' project and thus show accountability to its donors thus ensuring the continuation of such projects. In conclusion, international organizations must learn to utilize social media in order to ensure the survival of migration and development projects.

Chapter VI. Conclusion and Recommendations

1. Conclusion

Drawing upon Chapter II: Theoretical Framework Part A. which looked at the role of international organizations in shaping the meaning of the term diaspora and how they have utilized it for development, it can be said that this research paper has contributed the literature on transnationalism and social media usage, as it brought together three literature blocks together which have never been examined together. Literature on diaspora and transnationalism, literature on international organizations with regards to migration and development projects, and finally literature on social media usage and migrants. From the literature, twelve hypotheses were devised in order to answer to the research question: How can social media use among diaspora experts create sustainable relationships for sustainable development? Consequently, four sub questions were formulated and answered in which four main take-away points were found:

- 1) The term diaspora in the policy realm which is utilized for migration and development projects refers to the academic definition of a 'transmigrant'. Therefore, the term diaspora is a misnomer. Thus the research participants are in fact 'transmigrants' and not diaspora. The use of the term diaspora expert in the research question was deliberate in order to highlight this aspect further. Adding to this, the concept of transnationalism was born from the impact of globalization on migrant identities in the sense that the nation-state plays a less central role as an analytical tool for scholars. This leads to the idea of having 'one foot in one country, and another in a other' in which the internet plays a key role.
- 2) Transmigrants in this study are able to navigate the web freely and without barriers such as costs and accessibility to their communication.
- 3) Cross-country differences exist in the way that the transmigrants from Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Sierra Leone and Somalia choose to navigate the web. Furthermore, although they do not experience significant digital barriers, they are still existent. The findings illustrated that although diaspora experts residing in the Netherlands own smartphones and meet all the preconditions of polymedia theory, the people in their places of origin do

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not always meet them thus creating a form of 'care divide' as Mirca Madianou coined the term. However, one cannot generalize with regards to diaspora groups as it is apparent that all four countries face different issues with regards to social media usage. Some of these issues are related to a poor internet connection like Ethiopia, whilst others such as Somalia it is due to a digital literacy issue according to the local Somali IOM staff. Afghanistan however, can be perceived to have a good internet connection, and overall people have acquired a certain level of digital literacy. In this instance the transfer of skills and knowledge, as well as capacity building of key institutions through crowdfunding can be seen as effective. Therefore, unless the people in the diaspora's place of origin also meet the preconditions laid out by the polymedia theory, diaspora expert's social media use cannot directly contribute to sustainable development.

4) Social media can facilitate capacity building by facilitating new linkages between people and institutions, as well as, utilizing weak ties for crowdfunding opportunities. However, not without IOM's input. As stated above, international organizations can still improve in this area: "International organizations, and in this case IOM Netherlands can contribute greater to the exposure and visibility of its 'Connecting Diaspora for Development' project and thus show accountability to its donors thus ensuring the continuation of such projects. In conclusion, international organizations must learn to utilize social media in order to ensure the survival of migration and development projects" (see Recommendations below).

As a result, social media use among transmigrants can create sustainable relationships for sustainable development if the migrants have been given the right tools to do so, for example through crowdfunding workshops. In addition, if the digital divides between their host society and place of origin is not so great that the transfer of knowledge is impeded. For example, in the case of Ethiopia. Adding to this, international organizations whom have played a crucial role in utilizing transmigrants in development projects can continue to have an important role by better utilizing social media themselves and encourage transmigrants to share their stories which will lead to greater exposure and accountability of migration and development projects. In this light, this paper has examined two main relationships:

- 1) The use of social media among the diaspora experts, and between the different groups.
- 2) The use of social media by and with IOM.

Following on from this, one concludes that social media use among diaspora experts can contribute to achieving sustainable development goals by narrowing the distance between a migrant and their place of origin. This is similar to Dekker and Engbersen (2014) idea that social media is equivalent to the 'death of distance' and leads us to state that social media facilitates transnational activities. Development activities in the scope of this project can be seen as a form of transnational activity, therefore social media facilitates development related activities. However, with regards to social media contributing to capacity building, it needs direction from international organizations such as IOM in the form of educational workshops. IOM on the other hand can also improve in its utilization of social media tools, by doing so they can further assure accountability to donors and ensure the survival of such projects.

The societal relevance of this research was to illustrate that actors of change such as diaspora experts are also actors independent of international organizations like IOM. Therefore, showing that future assignments and development goals can be achieved with minimal interference from international organizations. The above conclusion however, illustrates that although this is partially true, both transmigrants and international organizations must continue to work together to achieve this one day.

On a side note, further research could be conducted on whether internet usage can be viewed as a development indicator for countries. Therefore, looking at whether migration and development projects can help contribute to the building of digital literacy for example (one of many possible digital barriers) as development goal among countries in need, and thus narrow the digital divide between transmigrants and people living in their place of origin. Hence, creating the conditions needed for social media relationships, in other words long-distance relationships.

In light of the conclusion that IOM can improve its usage of social media, we now turn our attention to concrete recommendations which have been formulated for IOM's CD4D project and its use of social media.

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2. Recommendations

Drawing from the above findings and conclusion some recommendations can be made:

- Expand capacity of the communications department, it will allow the allocation of more time to be invested in adequate social media strategies.
- Generate more content for the CD4D website, Facebook and Twitter. Potential sources include the following: other IOM migration and development projects, local news forums, participant reports (they can be transformed into shorthand stories), CD4D participant's personal projects (the interviews showed that they often involved in other migration and development projects) and events (private and public).
- Create a CD4D LinkedIn Showcase page, advertise vacancies and start conversations
- Create CD4D LinkedIn Discussion pages. They shouldn't be coordinated as per diaspora group but accordingly to the sectors. For example a discussion group for diaspora experts working in healthcare.
- Allocate funding for social media for more inclusive packages for example for the boosting of Facebook pages, web-transfer, shorthand social etc. On a side note, these kind of platforms could also be potential sources of funding since using their platforms for IOM outreach strategies is a form of advertisement.
- Organize physical meetings for participants to meet each other in person and to share their experiences, discuss challenges. Involve partners too, creates more accountability.
- Create more direct contact between diaspora and the communications department, for example directly emailing them for pictures of the participant's assignments instead of going through a third person as this is time consuming. Or create an upload box for such things on the CD4D website. The advantage of this is the accessibility and the ability to upload large files at one time.
- Make the taking of photos compulsory include it in the CD4D participant's contracts.
- Post on the website, Facebook and Twitter minimum once a week.
- For Sierra Leone participants explore communication via WhatsApp

- For Afghanistan participants explore communication via WhatsApp (or Viber, however WhatsApp is more popular in the Netherlands.
- Use LinkedIn to create new linkages.
- Host more crowdfunding workshops and look into blogging and vlogging workshops. The latter could be incorporated in the participant's pre-departure trainings.

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Appendix A. Participant Form

Name:	Age:		Gender:	
Place of Residence:		Profession:	Level of Education Obtained:	
Place of Origin:		Involvement in the CD4D project:		

Preparation:

On an A4 paper, kindly draw how you visualise your social media use. This does not have to be an elaborate drawing but rather a brief diagram.

Interview Questions

- 1) What is your relationship to the Netherlands (i.e. how long have you been here, do you speak Dutch, how much time do you spend in the Netherlands, profession etc.)?
- 2) What is your relationship to your place of origin (i.e. how often do you return, have remained in contact with people there, follow current events, do you take part in politics etc.)?
- 3) Have you taken part in diaspora and development projects before, with IOM or other organizations?
- 4) What is your current preferred method of communication (e.g. telephone, email, sms, messaging apps, skype, social network websites...)? With whom do you most communicate (e.g. friends and family, work...)?
- 5) What device do you most use to communicate with (e.g. phone, smartphone, computer, iPad ...)?
- 6) Do you face any barriers if/when communicating (in general) with people from your country of origin? What are these barriers (for example: internet connection, accessibility, costs, knowledge...)?
- 7) In your opinion do you think that social media can or already does reduce these barriers?
- 8) Do you use social media? If so which platforms and what do you use them for?
- 9) How many hours do you spend connected/ online?
- 10) Do you communicate with other CD4D participants (within and outside of your diaspora community), if so what communication technology do you most use among yourselves?
- 11) Would you say that you are a part of an online community? Who makes-up this community?

- 12) Do you take part in online discussion groups such as forums, or LinkedIn and Facebook groups in relation to diaspora and development? If not, would you like to and where would you like to see this happen (E.g. CD4D website, LinkedIn, Facebook etc.)?
- 13) What communication method do you use with your host institution? How often do you communicate with your host institution before, during and after an assignment?
- 14) What communication method do you use with IOM? Have you visited the website? How often do you visit?
- 15) How often do you communicate with IOM before, during and after an assignment?
- 16) Do you think communication could be improved among participants? With IOM and host institutions?
- 17) Would you like to connect with other diaspora professionals outside of the CD4D project?
- 18) Would you like to maintain contact with your host institution in the future, and return on other assignments (with or without IOM's involvement)? How would you like this to happen?
- 19) Do you see potential in social media use for the future of the CD4D project?
- 20) How can social media such as crowdfunding, in your opinion, improve the project?